

A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF KŎHO-SRE:
A MON-KHMER LANGUAGE

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a descriptive grammar of the Sre dialect of the Kōho language. Kōho, a Mon-Khmer (Austroasiatic) language, is spoken by an indigenous population of more than 207,000 people located in Lâm Đồng province in the highland region of Vietnam. There are also several thousand additional members of this ethnic group who live in France and the United States (primarily North Carolina).

The goal of this dissertation is to describe the Kōho-Sre language in such a manner that it is accessible both to linguists and also to those in the Kōho-speaking community interested in their own language. This grammar—based on a linguistic analysis that is informed by current linguistic theory and best practices in the field—includes phonological, morphological, and syntactic data.

A grammatical description of Kōho is needed, in spite of the fact that a literature of the language does exist. This is because (1) adequate documentation is not achieved by the extant literature; (2) materials are dated and do not reflect recent advances in typology and linguistic analysis; (3) many materials are published in Russian and Vietnamese or are not readily available to most researchers; and (4) earlier descriptions are cast in frameworks that are not amenable to contemporary documentary linguistic analysis.

This dissertation, based on data collected during fieldwork in Vietnam and North Carolina, supplemented with previously published syntactic and lexicographic materials, provides an overview of the grammatical structure of Sre. Sre is a polysyllabic (usually dissyllabic) language with a synchronic tendency towards reduction of the presyllable

(the weaker or minor syllable) and development in the remaining (main or major) syllable of contrastive pitch characteristics associated with vowel length. Vowel length, in turn, is influenced by the main syllable coda. A formerly complex system of nominal classifiers (operating in the pattern: numeral + classifier + noun) has been reduced to three generally used classifiers. Sentence structure is subject + verb + object with a fairly rigid word order with some phrase or clause movement to indicate certain syntactic functions.

To Gloria, my guardian angel

Thank you for your patience, support, and love.

TABLE OF CONTENTS


ABSTRACT	iii
LIST OF TABLES	viii
ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS	ix
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	xii
CHAPTERS	
1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Introduction to the study.....	1
1.2 The Koho people	6
1.3 The Koho language	10
1.4 Scientific significance of this dissertation.....	18
2 PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY	23
2.1 Introduction	23
2.2 Phonological description	23
2.3 Syllable structure.....	30
2.4 Suprasegmentals.....	33
2.5 History of orthographies.....	34
3 MORPHOLOGY	41
3.1 Introduction	41
3.2 Derivational morphology	41
3.3 Clitics.....	50
3.4 Compounding	53
4 SYNTACTIC CATEGORIES: WORD CLASSES	54
4.1 Introduction	54
4.2 Lexical categories: content word classes.....	55
4.3 Functional categories: grammatical word classes	74

5	SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES: GRAMMATICAL COMPONENTS.....	91
5.1	Introduction	91
5.2	Sre word order	91
5.3	Simple sentences	93
5.4	Complex sentences	98
5.5	Nominal constituents.....	102
5.6	Negation	104
APPENDICES		
A	TEXT: TRADITIONAL VILLAGE WORK	106
B	SWADESH 285-ITEM WORD LIST FOR SOUTHEAST ASIA: KŌHO-SRE DIALECT	108
	REFERENCES	122

LIST OF TABLES

2.1	Consonant phonemes.....	38
2.2	Vowel phonemes	38
2.3	Vowel minimal pairs with glosses.....	39
2.4	Examples of permitted Sre main syllable patterns	40
2.5	Sre pitch length by subdialect	40
4.1	Example of common nouns.....	85
4.2	Personal pronouns	85
4.3	Numerals	86
4.4	Inventory of Koho classifiers cited in this section	87
4.5	Coverbs and their glosses	88
4.6	Deictics of location and direction.....	88
4.7	Temporal units with <i>daaʔ</i> ‘one of a number of recurring or multiplied instances, or repeated acts; a recurrent event’	89
4.8	Temporal units with <i>tuʔ</i> ‘time, occasion’	89
4.9	Formation of interrogative pronominals.....	90
5.1	Content question interrogatives.....	105
5.2	Negative elements with <i>ʔa:ʔ</i> ‘not’	105

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

~	alternates with; alternate form
[x]	phonetic form
/x/	phonemic form
*	ungrammatical form
<	derives from
>	changes into
<...>	orthographic representation of an original source
	becomes
#	word boundary
§	section (of a chapter)
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ADJ	adjective
BEN	benefactive
C	consonant
CAUS	causative
CLF	classifier
CMA	Christian and Missionary Alliance
COM	comitative

CONJ	conjunction
DAT	dative
DIS	distal
EXCL	exclusive
EXIST	existence
F, f	feminine
GEN	genitive
Hz	Hertz
IMP	imperative
INCL	inclusive
INS	instrumental
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
lit.	literally
LOC	locative
M, m	masculine
MACV	Military Assistance Command—Vietnam
msec	millisecond
N	noun
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalizer/nominalization
O	object
PASS	passive
PL	plural

POSS	possessive
PREP	preposition
PROX	proximal/proximate
PURP	purposive
PW	phonological word
Q	question marker
RECP	reciproal
RED	reduplication
REFL	reflexive
S	subject
o	Greek letter sigma = syllable
SIL	Summer Institute of Linguistics (now SIL International)
s.o; s.t.	someone; something
SVO	subject + verb + object
V, v	verb; vowel
VOT	voice onset time
WALS	World Atlas of Language Structure
WH	WH-type question word

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Marianna Di Paolo, Tim Chambless, and Mark Alves. These scholars, colleagues, and friends have been wonderfully patient and so supportive of my efforts to document the Kōho language. I owe them my gratitude for believing in my work and me.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction to the study

The aim of this dissertation is to provide a descriptive grammar of the Sre dialect of the Kōho-speaking peoples in a theory-neutral format that will be accessible to linguists and other academics. Hopefully, this grammar can serve as a resource for pedagogical purposes and revitalization efforts, should the community desire them.

The Kōho,¹ who call themselves *kon cau*, number approximately 200,000 people and inhabit most of Lâm Đông province in highland Vietnam; several thousand now live overseas in France and the U.S.A. They are one of approximately fifty ethnic minority groups living in Vietnam; these people are also known as *montagnards* (an older French term) or highlanders. Kōho, along with the Chrau, Mnong, and Stieng languages, comprise the South Bahnaric branch of the Mon-Khmer (Austroasiatic) language family.

This chapter presents the theoretical framework of the study (§1.1.1), a brief description of how fieldwork was conducted (§1.1.2), and an introduction to the Kōho people (§1.2). A brief discussion of the language classification (§1.3.1), typology

¹The ethnonym Kōho [kəə'hə] is derived from a Cham word that refers collectively to a group of several peoples speaking mutually intelligible dialects in the southern part of the highlands of Vietnam (Olsen 1968, 1976). Although, Mả is linguistically a Kōho dialect, it is considered by the Mả community and ethnologists to be a separate ethnic group. The ISO 639-3 code for the Kōho language is *kpm*; the code for Mả is *cma*.

(§1.3.2), and dialects (§1.3.3) follows. A discussion of the scientific significance of this dissertation (§1.4) concludes the chapter.

1.1.1 Theoretical framework and terminology

The purpose of this study is to present a detailed linguistic description of the phonology, morphology, and syntax of the Sre dialect of the Koho language.

In writing the grammar, I used Comrie and Smith's 1971 *Lingua* questionnaire to organize my data and materials. Besides various vocabulary lists, basic bilingual phrase books, and folkloric works in or about the Koho, there are only a few lexicographic and syntactic materials of note on this language. In addition to my own data collected in fieldwork with the language, I have also consulted Evans and Bowen (1962) and Manley (1972) with supplemental reference to two important dictionaries (Dournes 1950, updated and revised in Bochet and Dournes 1953; and Drouin and K'Năi 1962). Best practices used in documentary linguistics guided the preparation of this grammar.

1.1.2 Fieldwork and data collection

During the course of ethnographic field research among the Koho-speaking peoples in the Central Highlands region of Vietnam, I had the opportunity to record textual material from two of the groups in the area—the Nòp and the Sre. The resultant corpus comprises speech representing three speakers of Sre, and one of Nòp; from this resource, the idiolect of one of the Sre-speakers was selected as the main focus of this analysis. This particular idiolect was selected because it had the most documentation (see §1.3.3).

The following is an inventory of my field notes from 1967-1968:

- 1967-8. Unpublished field notes. Cited as *Olsen Field Notes (OFN)*. [red plastic notebook, 3 x 5 in. pages, 'Central, No. 1270. Made in U.S.A.'] Photocopy made.
- 1967-8. Notes on Koho grammar and dictionary. [red notebook, 8 x 12.5 cm; *Cây Tre—Nhứt-Ký* printed on cover]
- 1968. Progress Report on Research and Field Work Among the Koho, a Montagnard Tribe of South Viet-Nam. Djiring (Di-Linh), 15 Feb 68, 5 p., typescript.
- 1968. Report No. 2. Blao (Bao Loc), 21 March 68, 2 p., typescript.
- 1968. Reference data. Blao (Bao-Loc), 6 May 68, 2 p., typescript.

All the field recordings were copied, enhanced, and archived at the University of Hawai'i Language Learning Center in 1974 (Tape # LIF 109.1). In addition, in 2008, selected records were digitized in a split-head (consumer stereo) format at radio station KUER, University of Utah.

The following is an inventory of digital and acoustic phonetic (spectrograms) materials generated at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa between 1975-1978.²

1. Inventory of spectrograms from the 1967-1968 field recordings (351 spectrograms), 1974.
2. Concordance for Manley's *Outline of Sre Structure*, 26 p., (222 types/1407 tokens), including frequency count in descending order. Reverse concordance, 23 p., 1 July 1976.

²These materials are in my personal field notes collection.

3. Sre (Evans and Bowen and Manley) concordance, 157 p. (1,062 types/8,787 tokens), 7 May 1977.
4. Nop concordance, 14 p., (162 types/773 tokens); reverse concordance, 14 p., 30 June 1976.
5. Sre-English dictionary, 272 p., (12,160 lines, 1,654 main entries, 1,128 subentries); English-Sre finder list, 119 p., (4,695 lines, 1,978 main entries, 19 May 1978. (This is an ongoing project.)

An inventory of my papers presented at conferences and other relevant publications is listed in the References section.

1.1.3 Prior research on Koho

The Sre and other Koho peoples are described in a moderately comprehensive ethnographic literature. This material deals primarily with their folkways and socio-cultural organization; treatment of the language has not been extensive.³

The following is an inventory of the relevant materials available on the language (those involving grammar, dictionary, and analyzed texts).

There are several published works involving the grammar: one of the earliest, a 1959 publication in Vietnamese, is *Học tiếng Thượng: Koho* [Learn a highland language: Koho] issued by the *Nha Công-tác Xã-hội miền Thượng* [Office of Highland Social Work]; the second is *Koho Language Course* by Helen Evans and Peggy Bowen (1962); the third is my brief grammar sketch (15 p.) for use by military advisers (Olsen 1968); the fourth is a syntactic study in a case grammar framework (Manley 1972); the fifth is a

³An annotated bibliography of both ethnographic and linguistic references concerning the Koho-speaking peoples is in preparation by the author (Olsen n.d. a).

treatment of affixation by Nguyễn văn Hoan (1973); and finally, there is Lý Toàn Thắng, et al. (1985) *Ngữ pháp tiếng Kôho* [Kôho grammar].

Kôho lexicography is adequately represented in four major works of note. The first is Jacques Dournes' *Dictionnaire srê (kôho)—français*, published in 1950 using the 1949 orthography (subsequently revised: Bochet and Dournes 1953, a quadrilingual lexicon edition); the second is the more recent and larger (multivolume, 1512-page) work by Father Sylvere Drouin and Professor K'Nãi of the Centre Montagnard de R  demptoristes, the *Dictionnaire fran  ais--montagnard*, which appeared in 1962;⁴ the third is the trilingual *Kôho Vocabulary* by Ha Bul Sohao of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (1976).⁵ The fourth, and most recent, is a Vietnamese-Kôho dictionary by Ho  ng Văn H  nh, et al. *T  i Di  n Vi  t-K  ho*, issued in 1983.⁶

Phonology is the least documented area in Kôho. The classic work is Smalley's important *Sr   phonemes and syllables* (1955). Although Manley devotes a chapter to phonology in his grammar (1972:10-39), it is not a main focus of his research. Despite his emphasis on syntax, Manley does offer several new insights; he further delineates the various Sr   dialects. Duong Tan Le's thesis (2003) explores phonological comparisons in K  ho and M  . There is a recent phonological study from Vietnam, *Ng  i   m ti  ng K  ho* [K  ho phonology] by T   V  n Th  ng (2004).

A comprehensive bibliography of published materials on K  ho may be found in the references section following the appendices.

⁴This work documents the Ry  ng T   dialect.

⁵This work documents the Cil dialect.

⁶Additionally, I have compiled a K  ho-English lexicon (with over 2,000 entries to date).

A grammatical description of Kôho is needed, in spite of the fact that a number of works are listed in this section. This is because (1) adequate documentation is not achieved by the extant literature; (2) materials are dated and do not reflect recent advances in typology and linguistic analysis; (3) many materials are published in Russian and Vietnamese or are not readily available to researchers; and (4) earlier descriptions are cast in frameworks that are not amenable to contemporary documentary linguistic analysis.

1.2 The Kôho people

Kôho [kəə'hə] is a Cham ethnonym applied collectively to a group of several peoples speaking mutually intelligible dialects in the Western Highlands (Tây Nguyên) of Vietnam.⁷ The Kôho autonym *kon cau* [kən caw] is usually translated as ‘sons of men,’ but literally means ‘offspring of humans.’ Although 207,517 ethnic Kôho were enumerated in Vietnam in 2009 (Vietnam Central Population and Housing 2010), with about 2,000 in North Carolina (U. S. Census 2000), there are no comparable figures for the current number of *speakers*.

In Vietnam, Kôho speakers inhabit most of Lâm Đồng province, and portions of Bình Thuận, Ninh Thuận, Đồng Nai, and Đắk Lắk provinces. Major population centers in the Kôho-speaking area are Đà Lạt, Bảo Lộc, and Di Linh. Minority ethnic groups in

⁷‘Kôho est un mot cham qui servait à désigner l’ensemble des Montagnards et qui se trouve pratique pour désigner un dialecte commun à un nombre relativement important de tribus (de parler Môn-Khmer) et compris sans exception dans toute la province du Haut-Donnai’ (Bochet 1951). In Moussay’s *Dictionnaire Căm-Vietnamien-Français* (1971:125), the entry reads: ‘KAHO /kahauw/: người Kôho; la peuplade des Kôho.’ The Kôho are an officially designated ethnic group in Vietnam. Other Vietnamese spellings of the ethnonym are Coho, Cờ-ho, Co-ho, and Kohor.

Vietnam, including the Koho people, have been known by several other designations, including French *montagnard* ‘mountain dweller,’ and Vietnamese *người thượng* ‘highland compatriot.’ See Figure 1.1.

Since the 1930s, missionaries, government agencies, and educators using several different alphabets have produced scripture, primers, grammars, and dictionaries. During the 1960s and 1970s, a series of pedagogical materials in Koho and a dozen other minority languages was produced by SIL (Summer Institute of Linguistics) under contract to the former Saigon government—the Highlander Education Project. Writing primers, science, and health books were used in many classrooms where Koho was the language of instruction in the primary grades; in the higher grades, Vietnamese was phased in.⁸

During the American War in Vietnam, most of the heavier fighting was located outside of the Koho-speaking area, but that war had an effect on these people in several significant ways. Because most of their homeland was designated as a ‘free fire zone’ in the late 1960s,⁹ many Koho underwent abrupt social and cultural upheaval when entire village communities were forcibly relocated into strategic hamlets strung along National Route 20 and clustered around district and provincial centers between Bảo Lộc and Đà Lạt

⁸Steve Sherman, of the RADIX Foundation, Houston, TX, was able to obtain electronic copies of SIL’s Vietnamese minority education materials. They were previously available only on microfiche from SIL. These materials have been shared with the North Carolina community.

⁹‘Free fire zones’ were areas designated (often arbitrarily) by the South Vietnamese or American forces as being de facto ‘insecure’ (i.e., enemy territory) and thus subject to indiscriminate and unlimited artillery fire, aerial bombing, and chemical defoliation.

(Olsen 1970 and Volk 1979). Many innocent people who remained in their native villages were decimated along with their crops and livestock as a result of these zones.

Many highlanders served as soldiers in the Republic of Vietnam's Regional and Popular Forces, which were province- and district-level home guard units, respectively. Others were recruited into Civilian Irregular Defense Groups (CIDG), and other 'special operations' which were administered by the U.S. Special Forces (the Green Berets).

At the conclusion of the Second Indochinese War, what remained of the highlander population tried to pick up the pieces of their lives and rebuild. After reunification in 1976, the Hanoi government initiated a massive program where lowlander Kinh (people of Vietnamese ethnicity) were relocated to many of the highland provinces, making highlanders a minority in their homeland (Hardy 2003). There was severe deforestation as highlanders and Kinh alike destroyed the double- and triple-canopy forests to plant coffee, which, at that time, was enjoying a worldwide economic boom. Unfortunately, Vietnamese coffee flooded the market and prices plummeted, leaving many people economically impoverished.¹⁰ At the same time, the government and military were conducting mop-up operations against remnants of the former Saigon administration. Highlanders who had sided with the Saigon and American authorities were imprisoned in reeducation camps, many for decades. Some died from miserable conditions or were executed. The military rounded up guerilla groups comprised of former South Vietnamese military personnel, a highlander autonomy movement called

¹⁰See Gerard Greenfield, Vietnam and the world coffee crisis, Urban Renaissance Institute website, 1 March 2002. <http://www.urbanrenaissance.org/urbanren/index.cfm?DSP=content&ContentID 057>. Accessed 9 August 2009.

FULRO,¹¹ and other antigovernment elements. A modicum of peace finally came to the highlands in 1992, when FULRO holdouts in Cambodia surrendered to a United Nations team. Since then, the government has aggressively persecuted and prosecuted evangelical Protestant home churches, which have many highlander adherents (Human Rights Watch 2006). Because of this situation, thousands of highlanders, including Koho people, have fled their homeland. Since 1986, several thousand highlanders have been resettled in the United States, mostly in North Carolina.

After 1975, and especially following unification in 1976, use of minority languages was discouraged and a Vietnamization campaign emphasized integration of minority peoples into the majority national society. Vietnamese became the language of instruction at all levels of education. All pre-1975 materials were banned. During fieldwork in Vietnam in 1999, I observed that minority languages were not being nourished in the ‘old country.’ Realistically, unless Vietnamese government policies change, the overseas Kōho are ‘on their own’ as far as language and cultural maintenance emanating from the homeland are concerned. Despite the fact that there is a population of over 200,000 in Vietnam alone, Kōho (like Navajo¹²) has the potential to become an endangered language. A challenge to overseas Kōho will be maintaining a ‘critical mass’ of speakers and transmitting their language to future generations. As mentioned, most Kōho refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia, and United Nations camps in Thailand were able to relocate to North Carolina. See Figure 1.2. This is because Ft. Bragg, the home of

¹¹FULRO is the acronym for *Front Uni de Lutte des Races Opprimées* (United Front of Struggle for the Oppressed Races).

¹²Navajo is considered at risk because fewer young people are learning the language despite the demographic size of the group—more than 100,000 (Mary Ann Willie, p.c.).

the Special Forces, is located near Fayetteville, North Carolina. Many active duty and retired Green Berets sponsored individuals and families so they could immigrate to the U.S. and reestablish themselves in this country.

The Koho community in North Carolina is flourishing and adapting to American ways while maintaining their culture and language. The families of my language consultants all speak Koho on a daily basis and even their grandchildren are using the language. This bodes well for Koho language maintenance in North Carolina.

1.3 The Koho language

Among the Koho-speaking peoples, Sre has emerged as the prestige dialect because they inhabited areas that were developed during the French colonial period. An important highway, National Route 20, that connects Hồ Chí Minh city (Sàigòn) and Đà Lạt, was built through the middle of their territory. Because of this accessibility, the Sre were one of the first Koho peoples to be converted to Christianity by French and, later, American missionaries.

1.3.1 Language classification

Koho, along with Chrau, Mnong, and Stieng comprise the South Bahnaric branch,¹³ which in turn is a subdivision on a par with the North Bahnaric and West

¹³Other synonyms include the terms *Mnong-Ma* and *Chau-Ma* (or *Che-Ma*), and appear primarily in French scholarly works (Dournes 1974:161). French ethnographers and linguists often include the Bölöö (Bòlò) [bə.lə:], a Stieng people, along with Mnong under their Mnong-Ma rubric.

The situation is further complicated by the fact that although one may refer to the Koho language as such of the Koho-speaking peoples, there was, historically, no group of people specifically referred to, or that considered themselves as Koho. After reunification, this changed as the ethnic Vietnamese (*Kinh*) refer to these people as Koho

Bahnaric branches of the Bahnaric group, a major division of the Mon-Khmer language family (Thomas 1966:194-197). The Mon-Khmer languages, the Munda languages in India, and the Aslian languages of the Malay Peninsula comprise the three components of the Austroasiatic family.

The basic vocabulary among the four South Bahnaric languages all range around a 60-percent cognate rate, so that no further subdivision is suggested. The South Bahnaric languages are physically separated from North and West Bahnaric by a geographic intrusion of Austronesian-speaking Chamic peoples; it is thought that the split of Bahnaric into northern, western, and southern groups is historically connected with the appearance of people speaking Chamic languages (not only Cham, but Edê (Rhadé), Jorai (Jarai), Røglai, and others) into the Western Highlands region (Thurgood 1999).¹⁴ Recently, sufficient materials have become available on at least one speech community of each of the four South Bahnaric languages so that several scholars have reconstructed proto-South Bahnaric.¹⁵

The Sre have much in common with other highland minority peoples in Vietnam, both culturally and ethnically, and despite some linguistic differences, consider themselves along with all the highland groups to be a unified socio-cultural entity.

Although the Sre speak a Mon-Khmer (Austroasiatic) language, they are culturally more

(also spelled K'Ho and Cờ ho), which is now an official term; many highlanders adopted it when speaking about themselves to outsiders.

¹⁴The Austronesian intrusion of Chamic languages into the Western Highlands is detailed in Gregerson, et al. (1976) and Thurgood (1999), while the South Bahnaric areal linguistic setting is discussed in Thomas (1971:18-21).

¹⁵Proto-South Bahnaric has been reconstructed by Efimov (1988, 1990), and Sidwell (2000).

similar to Austronesian-speaking Chamic peoples because of the intensive political dominance by Champa in the highland region until the eighteenth century. Thus, while the Sre speak a dialect that is mutually intelligible to their western neighbors, the Mạ, they differ from them both in social structure and subsistence patterns (Olsen 1976).¹⁶ Many Sre are multilingual, possessing a degree of fluency in either French or Vietnamese, depending on their age, education, and military service. Some also speak neighboring languages, such as Mnong, Rơglai, Chru, or Edê (Rhadé), and more recently English.

Traditionally, the Sre¹⁷ engaged primarily in wet-rice (paddy) agriculture and lived in the plains and valleys of the Di Linh Plateau (Cao Nguyên Di Linh), which is located in central Lâm Đông province, and comprises the southern-most portion of the Western Highlands (Tây Nguyên) region in central Vietnam.¹⁸ The social and cultural

¹⁶The Cham influence on Sre social structure and linguistic behavior is very pervasive. The Sre reckon descent matrilineally, as do most Austronesian-speaking peoples in Vietnam, unlike many Mon-Khmer-speaking groups.

¹⁷Surprisingly, the ethnolinguistic literature refers to these people by the same name that they use for themselves: (*cau*) *sre* ‘irrigated paddy (people).’ Alternate citations for the Sre include: Sore, Cau S’re, Srê, and Xrê. For brief ethnographic sketches of the Sre, see Queguiner (1943), and Le Bar, et al. (1964:156-157).

¹⁸After unification in 1976, Lâm Đông and Tuyên Đức provinces were merged into one administrative unit, retaining the former’s designation. During the former Republic of Vietnam administration, the provincial capital of Lâm Đông was Bảo Lộc (sometimes transliterated as Bơlao, from the indigenous Blao). The province capital is now Đà Lạt. The Western Highlands (Tây Nguyên) are also known as the Central Highlands (Cao Nguyên).

center of Sre territory is Djiring (Di Linh),¹⁹ the principal market town in the district. Population estimates for the Sre account for approximately 30,000 people in Vietnam.

Koho speakers began arriving in North Carolina in 1986; they settled primarily in Charlotte, Greensboro, and Raleigh. Another group joined them in 1992. Both state and local government and refugee services have provided excellent support to the relocated people. Many of the Koho have moved into various professions, such as realtors, lawyers, restaurateurs, and religious leaders. Most of the children and grandchildren of the people I met speak Koho and use it at home and in many domains. The younger people talk and text in the language. This bodes well for the maintenance of the Koho language in North Carolina, which includes the Sre, Cil, and Lat dialects.

This study will primarily focus on the Sre dialect as spoken in North Carolina.

1.3.2 Typology

As mentioned above, Koho, along with the Chrau, Mnong, and Stieng languages comprise the South Bahnaric branch of the Mon-Khmer (Austroasiatic) language family. Both Khmer (Cambodian) and Vietnamese are distantly related to the Bahnaric languages, and thus Koho.

Alves, in his Pacoh grammar (2006), a Katuic language, lists typological characteristics that are found in Mon-Khmer (Austroasiatic) languages, noting that some of these also apply to other languages and language families in the Southeast Asia Linguistic Area (1-3).²⁰ These include:

¹⁹Di Linh (sometimes written Gi Rin) is the Vietnamese transliteration of Djiring (which is the French rendering of the Sre place name Ñjring [ɲ 'jɾiŋ], the district seat until 1975.

- Sentence structure: topic-comment, a basic subject-verb-object (SVO) order
- Noun phrase structure: classifier language, noun-modifier word order, lexically indicated plurality (not affixes)
- Modal aspects: time (or tense), aspect, and the interrogative are indicated by adverbs and sentence particles (not conjugated verbs or affixes)
- Word-formations: presyllables (e.g., deriving causative verbs) and infixes (e.g., nouns derived from verbs), partial/alternating reduplication, no suffixes
- Phonological word shape: sesquisyllabic word structure in which presyllables are unstressed and somewhat reduced in form, consonant clusters on main syllables
- Phonology: vocalic/register differences on vowels, four-way place of distinction of consonants (labial, dental, palatal, and velar)

These genetic features and areal traits are discussed in detail in the phonology, morphology, and syntax chapters that follow.

Hawkins (1983:284,338) classifies Sre, the most documented dialect of Koho, as a subject-verb-object word order language with adpositions and numeral-noun, noun-adjective (alternatively adjective-noun is a nonbasic order), noun-genitive, and noun-relative clause characteristics. Sre is language Type 9 in his Extended Sample typological classification, expanding on Greenberg's language universals works (Greenberg 1966 [1963], 1978).²¹

²⁰See also Goddard (2005:33) for an inventory of distinctive phonological and morphological characteristics in the Mon-Khmer languages.

²¹Other Type 9 languages include Cambodian, Vietnamese, Modern Israeli Hebrew, Indonesian, most Romance languages, and almost all Bantu languages.

Syntactically, Kôho is similar in many respects to Vietnamese and other Southeast Asian languages. Sentential word order is generally subject-verb-object (SVO). Kôho is a polysyllabic (usually dissyllabic) language with a synchronic tendency towards reduction of the presyllable (the weaker or minor syllable) and development in the remaining (major) syllable of contrastive pitch characteristics associated with vowel length. Vowel length, in turn, is influenced by the main syllable coda. Since the mid-twentieth century, a formerly complex system of nominal classifiers (operating in the pattern: numeral + classifier + noun) has been reduced to three generally used classifiers, which function in the environment previously filled by the more specialized classifier terms (Manley 1972:120-121). In addition, a diachronically intricate affixation pattern that previously served syntactic functions seems to be currently nonproductive, although stylistic or metaphoric extensions of certain forms (usually verbs) may be generated by the use of polysyllabic compounds composed of an even number of syllables. Verbal aspect may be optionally marked by atelic or telic situation markers (Comrie 1976:44-48). Personal pronouns distinguish three persons, singular and plural (the second person has masculine, feminine, and informal forms; the first person plural has an inclusive/exclusive dichotomy). Demonstratives are categorized by physical or temporal distance and visibility with reference to the speaker and listener. Interrogative sentences are marked by appropriate final particles; prefixing an assimilating nasal to a nominal substantive forms many of the WH-type interrogatives.²²

²²WH-type interrogatives indicate the type of questions that begin with *wh-* in English (e.g., who, what, why, etc.). For a discussion of other syntactic material in Kôho, see Olsen 1968, Manley 1972, Nguyễn văn Hoan 1973, and Lý Toàn Thắng, et al. 1985.

Approximately one-fifth of the basic lexicon in Kôho is cognate with neighboring Austronesian languages (especially S. Rôglai).²³ Vietnamese, as the national language, exercises a considerable influence on Sre, and the other minority languages in Vietnam. In North Carolina, the influence of Vietnamese is not as significant, but Vietnamese is often used as a lingua franca in intergroup communication, especially between speakers of other minority languages. The influence of English on Kôho in North Carolina is beyond the scope of this study.

The Kôho language has several intriguing features of interest to language typology and linguistic theory. These features include a system of diachronically diverse noun classifiers, intricate patterns of reduplication, and a set of chameleon lexemes that appear in form as adpositions, but function as relator nouns.

1.3.3 Dialects²⁴

There are at least twelve Kôho dialects: Chil (Cil, Til), Kalop (Tulop), Koyon (Kodu, Co-Don), Làc (Làt, Lach), Mà, Nôp (Nop, Xre Nop, Noup), Pru, Ryông Tô (Riông, Rion), Sop, Sre, Talà (To La), and Tring (Trinh). Linguistically, I consider Mà to be a Kôho dialect, since Mà dialects are mutually intelligible with other Kôho dialects. Mà subdialects include: Cau Mà (Chau Mà), Mà Huang, Ngan, Preng, Cop (Xop), Krung, and (Cau) Tô. This list of dialects and subdialects is not comprehensive or definitive. The

²³About 20 percent of the Sre lexicon examined (in this and other material) contains words cognate with Chamic languages, especially in the domains of kinship, politics, and agriculture.

²⁴I am using the term *dialect* as defined by Di Paolo and Spears (2014:11).

ethnographic and linguistic literature presents considerable variation on the designation or existence of the various dialects and subdialects.²⁵

As previously mentioned, Sre is considered the prestige dialect among most Koho speakers. Sre is one of the main languages of commerce used in the area and is employed in radio and television broadcasts in Koho-speaking areas (Dương 2003:31). In his fieldwork, Manley noted the existence of three distinct subdialects within the Sre dialect which he terms subdialects A, B, and C. Both subdialects A and B are spoken in Di Linh, apparently in contiguous territories within the town.²⁶ Speakers of subdialect A have inhabited the area for a long time. Because of this, its speakers are wealthier and better educated, so socially subdialect A is considered the prestige dialect (see §1.3 above). Subdialect B is spoken by a group that migrated from north and west of Di Linh into the area in the mid-1900s. Although speakers of subdialect B have intermingled with subdialect A speakers, subdialect B speakers still maintain the characteristics of their dialect. These two subdialects are mutually intelligible and exhibit only minor phonetic and lexical differences. Subdialect B, although not the prestige subdialect, is the basis for materials produced by the Christian and Missionary Alliance, including the translation of the New Testament. Pedagogical materials issued by the Highlander Education Project used an orthography based on subdialect B and that subdialect was taught in local schools. Smalley documented subdialect C, spoken to the south of Di Linh, in his

²⁵ I wish to thank William Labov and Gillian Sankoff for an enlightening discussion concerning languages, dialects, and subdialects.

²⁶ Both Manley and Nguyễn văn Hoan based the majority of their research on the speech of Broi Toploi (K'Broi), who is from Di Linh. Subdialect A is his first language. He is also the principal resource for this grammar. I want to acknowledge K'Broi's assistance in delineating the geography of these subdialects.

important article ‘Sre Phonemes and Syllables’ (1955). Manley notes that subdialect C ‘is apparently different still from [sub-]Dialects A and B—more different, in fact, than A is from B’ (1972:11-12, 15, 18-19). This grammar is based on subdialect A, but topics of interest in subdialects B and C will be noted when relevant.

Most Koho speakers in North Carolina are fluent in at least two or three other dialects, in addition to English, Rhade, Jarai, and sometimes Spanish. A few older people are familiar with or speak French. My language consultants told me that although people will converse in different dialects with each other, when they write something, they use Sre, the prestige dialect.²⁷

1.4 Scientific significance of this dissertation

This dissertation addresses two areas of scientific significance. The first is that there is no contemporary, theory-neutral syntactic description of any South Bahnaric language.²⁸ The Koho-Sre literature is introduced above. Of the four South Bahnaric languages, Thomas’s *Chrau Grammar* (1971) is the most accessible syntactic description despite being cast in SIL’s tagmemic framework. Both Mnong and Stieng have been adequately documented, but the materials are in scattered articles and diverse journals. The materials have not been collected into a single source with syntactic description in a contemporary theory-neutral format for either language. As mentioned, most publications

²⁷A church service I attended in North Carolina was conducted primarily in Vietnamese with some English interspersed because the congregation consisted of speakers of seven different languages.

²⁸This assertion could be extrapolated to most Mon-Khmer languages, with the possible exception of Khmer (Cambodian) and Vietnamese.

from SIL linguists, especially in Vietnam, are cast in tagmemics, which is opaque for theoretical or typological analysis.

The second area of scientific significance is not limited to Mainland Southeast Asia languages, but nonetheless is a major problem in linguistic description—agreement on terminology. The terminology conundrum is especially vexing in Mon-Khmer linguistics because the phonological systems in many of the languages are complex and require sophisticated theoretical apparatus to describe the phenomena observed adequately. Both Alves (1997) and Schiller (1999) comment on this situation, noting that problem areas in typical ‘Western’ analyses of Southeast Asian languages include ‘inadequate linguistic theories that continue to analyze these languages incorrectly despite the reality of Southeast Asian languages and other languages of the world’ (Alves:1). In syntax, there are serious terminological problems in defining concepts such as pronouns, classifiers, and adpositions.

Both of these areas of significance (and concern) are addressed in this dissertation. As in any academic endeavor, a descriptive grammar is a hypothesis—or better said, a compilation of interacting hypotheses, which can be challenged, rejected, or refined if researchers (which can include the author of the grammar himself) find new data which suggest different analyses, or if it is found that other possible analyses offer a more enlightening account of the data on hand. The later can happen if modifications in linguistic theory provide more insightful ways of looking at particular phenomena in the language. Documentary linguistics contributes to the science of linguistics and should be held to the same standards and ethics as any discipline.

Finally, as Kōho presents linguistic traits that are of significant general

typological interest, their importance is emphasized and the phenomena are described in detail in this dissertation, thereby contributing to typology generally.

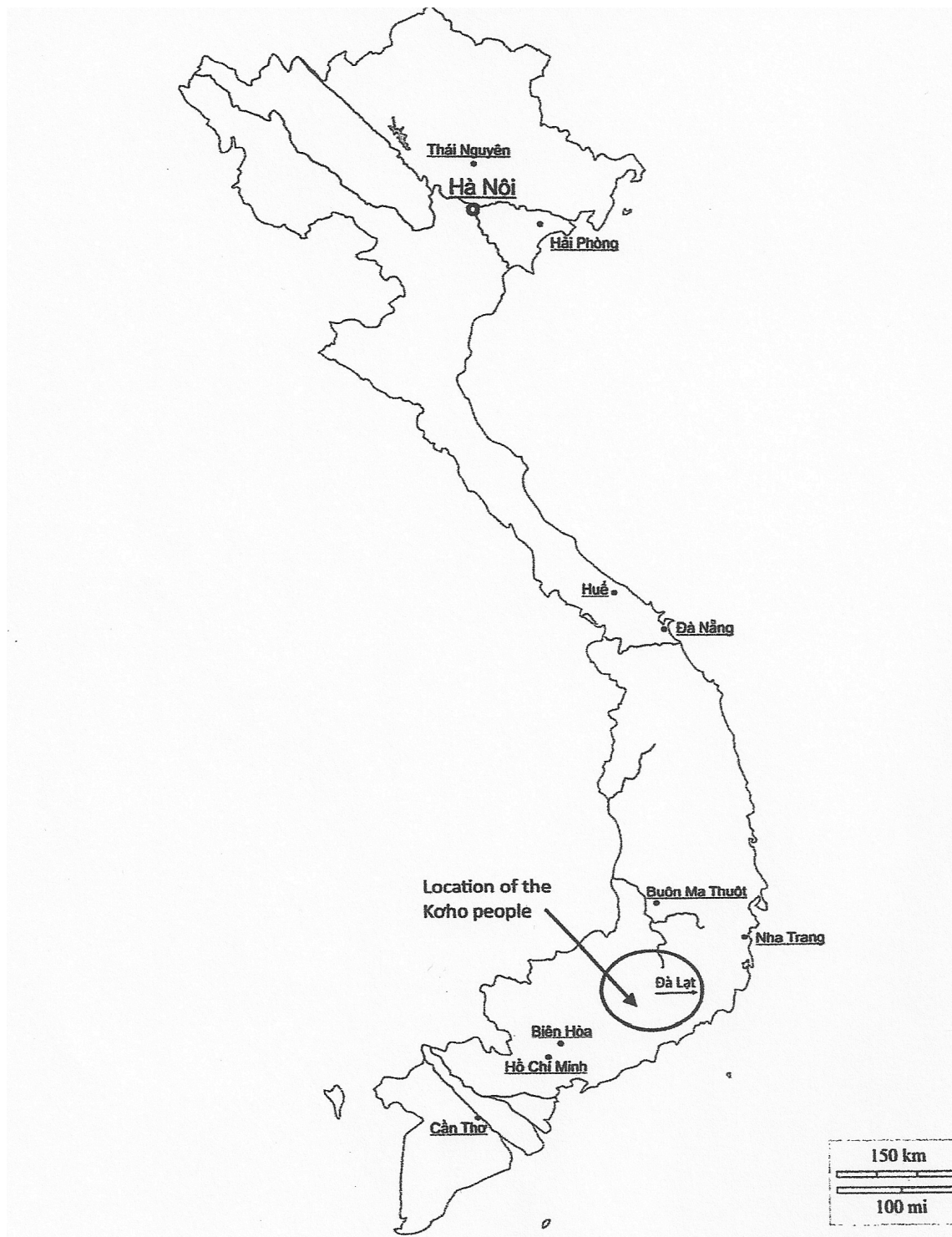


Figure 1.1. Map of Vietnam showing the location of the Koho people.

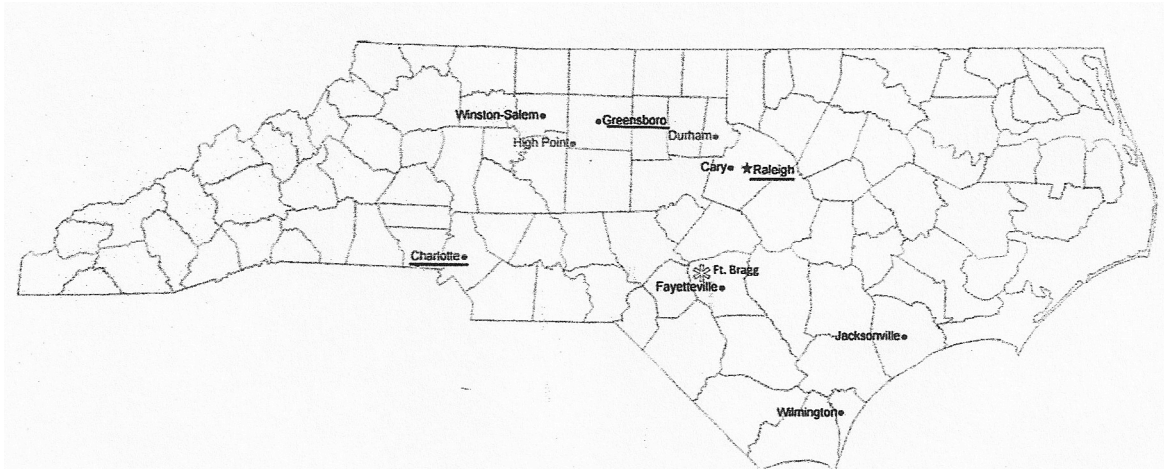


Figure 1.2. North Carolina showing cities (underlined) where Koho people live.

CHAPTER 2

PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of Sre phonetics and phonology. The first section is a phonological description of Sre (§2.2), followed by a discussion of syllable structure (§2.3). Next, the section on suprasegmentals covers the phenomenon of pitch length (§2.4), and finally a brief history or summary of orthographies (§2.5).

Because there are five orthographies extant for the Kôho language and to avoid confusion (and consternation), all data in this grammar are transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA).

2.2 Phonological description

Data from Kôho-Sre language descriptions (Manley 1972; Nguyễn văn Hoan 1973; Smalley 1955; and Tạ Văn Thông 2004) and my field notes (Olsen field notes and 1968) are used to examine selected phonological phenomena. This section is divided into the phonological inventory of Sre (§2.2.1) and selected phonological processes (§2.2.2).

2.2.1 Phonological inventory

Sre phonology patterns similarly with the sound systems seen in other Mon-Khmer languages. Section 2.2.1.1 details the consonant system and §2.2.1.2 discusses Sre

vowels.

2.2.1.1 Sre consonants

Sre has consonant segments at five places of articulation with voiceless unaspirated and aspirated stops, voiced stops, implosives, fricatives, unaspirated and aspirated nasals, trills, laterals, and glides (Table 2.1).

Sre has a series of unaspirated, aspirated, and voiced stops at labial, alveolar, palatal, and velar points of articulation, plus a glottal stop. Two implosives are found at labial and alveolar points of articulation. There are two voiceless alveolar and glottal fricatives. Unaspirated nasals occur at labial, alveolar, palatal, and velar points of articulation. Aspirated nasals occur at labial, alveolar, and palatal positions. According to Manley's Table 3a (1972:14, 26), no aspirated velar forms have been found in the data. There is an unaspirated and aspirated alveolar trill and an unaspirated and aspirated lateral. Finally, there are two glides: a high, back, rounded labial and a high, front, unrounded palatal.

Before the palatal finals /c/ and /ɲ/, there is an audible palatal offglide after the vowel [V^j], so that /pwac/ 'flesh' is pronounced as [pwaɪc] and /ʔaɲ/ 'I, 1st person singular' as [ʔaɪɲ]. The voiced alveolar trill [r] often reduces to a flap [ɾ] when it occurs as the second segment in a consonant cluster (e.g., [sre] 'paddy field').

There have been several interpretations of whether aspirated nasals and liquids (/l/ and /r/) should be considered as units segment or as a segment plus /h/ (Smalley 1955:222).

Smalley considers /ph, th, ch, kh/ as two segments (CC) rather than as single unit aspirated stops [p^h, etc.] because of parallels in /mh, nh, jh, lh, rh/: /mhar/ 'quickly,' /nhap/ 'covered,' /jhat/ 'drop (n.),' /lhaʔ/ 'asleep,' and /rhjaɲ/ 'one hundred.' I prefer a

different interpretation because of the implications of a morphophonological ‘test,’ one of infix insertion, employed by Richard Watson in his description of Pacoh²⁹ phonemes (Watson 1964:141, §1.2.1.2). He posits that if clusters can be divided by morphological infixes as aspirates can, then the clusters should be interpreted as two segments (i.e., CC). For example, the nominalizing infix {-an-} in Pacoh may be inserted between the first and second segments of a verb root (with allophones /-al-/ and /-ar-/) (see 1a-c).

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|--------------------------|------------------------|-------|
| (1) | a. | <i>c<al>leang</i> | (stem: <i>cleang</i>) | Pacoh |
| | | <NMLZ> door bar | | |
| | | ‘a door bar’ | ‘to bar door’ | |
| | b. | <i>c<ar>rong</i> | (stem: <i>crong</i>) | |
| | | <NMLZ> s.t. surrounded | | |
| | | ‘something surrounded’ | ‘to surround’ | |
| | c. | <i>k<an>(h)iar</i> | (stem: <i>khia</i> r) | |
| | | <NMLZ> broom | | |
| | | ‘a yard broom’ | ‘to sweep yard’ | |

Given the data in (1a-c), Watson therefore interprets aspirated stops (in Pacoh) as clusters of stops /*p*, *t*, *k*/ plus /*h*/ because they parallel the pattern of stops /*p*, *t*, *k*/ plus liquids /*r*, *l*/. He notes that aspirates, like clusters, often occur in only main-syllable-initial position (C-), whereas unit consonants can also occur in presyllables-initial and word-final position. Alves, in his Pacoh grammar (2006), observes that such insertion appears only in fossilized remnants and is no longer active in the language (p. 21). He considers the single segment interpretation to be a reflection of the typological tendency in Southeast Asia toward onset cluster reduction.

²⁹Pacoh belongs to the Katuic branch of Mon-Khmer; it is spoken primarily in Thừa Thiên province in central Vietnam.

interval between the plosive burst and the onset of vocal fold vibrations (Ladefoged 2003:96).

The distributional phonology of the consonant segments is detailed in the syllable structure section (§2.3).

2.2.1.2 Sre vowels

Sre vowels are phonemically categorized by four primary features: height, backness, length, and tentatively, by tongue root position triggered by allophonic overlap. The front vowels are unrounded, while back vowels are rounded. The central vowels vary widely as to lip rounding and height, but mostly occur as allophones of /əə/, especially as presyllables vowels. The high, central vowels [i, u] occur very rarely in the data. The vowels are delineated in Table 2.2.

Table 2.3 lists minimal pairs, if they occur in the data. Several vowels almost always occur long [e:, o:, α:], except in some personal names (e.g., [doh] ‘female personal name’). Additionally, there appear to be several processes operating within the vowel system that are difficult to discern and describe. A brief attempt to document these follows.

Manley (1972:15-16, 18) discusses allophonic overlap in the high and mid-high front vowels, where the high front vowel /i/ has [i] and [ɪ] as allophones, while the mid-high front vowel /e/ allophones are [i], [ɪ], and [e]. In a minimal pair, where /i/ and /e/ contrast, the allophones can be indistinguishable as far as tongue height alone is concerned. For example, in the words /nti:ŋ/ ‘bone’ and /nte:ŋ/ ‘where’, both vowels are long, high, tense, and front [ɪ]. He notes that speakers will invoke a slight tongue-root

advancement [ɿ:] to distinguish between the two overlapping allophones.³⁰

Manley notes that in dialect B, allophones of /o/ overlap with allophones of /u/, so an advanced tongue-root (ATR) [u] is triggered to disambiguate that overlap. It appears that some of the dialects of Sre are gradually evolving a nascent system to disambiguate overlapping allophones using advanced tongue root. This process has been documented in other Mon-Khmer languages as well.

Manley also observed that the vowels /e, o, a/ form a subset that almost always occur long and are never articulated with advanced tongue root (1972:16-17). Exploring the implications of both of the use of advanced tongue root to disambiguate allophonic overlap and the subset of vowels /e, o, a/ are subjects for future research (see Olsen 2008).

2.2.2 Phonological processes

These selected phonological processes illustrate the types of rules employed to preserve the fundamental syllable template in Sre. Most of these are degemination or deletion rules.

Geminate consonant clusters are not permitted; these clusters reduce to a single consonant. Nasals and liquids are not permitted in consonant clusters. If there are two adjacent nasals, then the first is deleted (3a). If two coronals (dental or alveolar) occur in succession, then the second cannot be a lateral (3b). Elsewhere, the nasal coda of /təən-/

³⁰I was able to confirm in subdialect A the advanced tongue-root acoustically by examining my spectrograms of that sound; it is indeed a very subtle phenomenon even when analyzed by instrumental means. The third formant of the vowel remains at the same frequency throughout the utterance while the second formant bends down at the beginning of the vowel sound. The same pattern has been found in African ATR vowel spectrograms.

undergoes partial contact regressive assimilation with the following stop (3c-d).

- (3) a. $/təən + mu:ʔ/ > [təə.mu:ʔ]$
 CAUS + go.down CAUS-go.down
 ‘go down’ ‘cause/make s.o. or s.t. go down’
- b. $/təən + lik/ > [təə.lik]$
 CAUS + come.out CAUS-come.out
 ‘come out’ ‘cause/make s.o. or s.t. to come out’
- c. $/təən + c^həət/ > [təən. c^həət]$
 CAUS + die CAUS-die
 ‘die’ ‘cause s.o. to die; kill’
- d. $/təən + kah/ > [təən.kah]$
 CAUS + remember CAUS-remember
 ‘remember’ ‘cause s.o. to remember’

Phonemically, a palatal glide may not follow another palatal consonant (4).

- (4) a. $/*cj- *chj- *jj- *nj- *nhj-/$
- b. $[+palatal]^* \begin{matrix} !+palatal \exists \\ \# & \& \\ \text{"glide} & \% \end{matrix}$

Syllable-final glottal stop following a long (marked) vowel $/v ʔ/\#$ ($[V:ʔ]$) is deleted when followed by another syllable (5a-d). However, it is not deleted following a short (unmarked) vowel (5e). The examples are from Smalley (1955:219).

- (5) a. $ʔ > \emptyset / CV: ___ \# \#C$
- b. $/dàʔ mɛ/ > [da: mɛ]$ ‘river’ (lit. ‘water mother’)
- c. $/bòʔ daʔ/ > [bo: daʔ]$ ‘that head’
- d. $/dàʔ daʔ/ > [da: daʔ]$ ‘that water’

- e. /luʔ daʔ/ > [luʔ daʔ] ‘that rock’

There is one postlexical rule that frequently occurs because it involves the first person singular pronoun /ʔaŋ/ ‘I.’ After the pronoun /ʔaŋ/, the genitive postposition /de/ is realized as /je/ (6a-b). Alveolar /d/ progressively assimilates to a palatal /j/ following the palatal nasal in /ʔaŋ/.

- (6) a. *de* > *je* / ʔaŋ ____
 b. *sraʔ ʔaŋ je*
 book 1 GEN
 ‘my book’
 c. *sraʔ k^haj de*
 book 3 GEN
 ‘his/her book’

This palatal assimilation serves to distinguish and disambiguate the postposition /de/ from the homophone directional preposition /de/, since both forms may appear in the same sentence. The other personal pronouns (/mi, aŋ₁, k^haj/) are not affected by this rule (as in 6c). This is apparently a Proto-South Bahnaric external sandhi rule because it is also found in Chrau, Mnong, and Stieng.

2.3 Syllable structure

Prosodically, syllabic organization is depicted in Figure 2.1. The Greek letter σ (lower case sigma) represents ‘syllable.’

As in many Mon-Khmer languages, Koho has two syllable types: a *presyllable*

and a *main* syllable.³¹ The prototypical full phonological word (PW) takes a sesquisyllabic ('syllable and a half') form (Matisoff 1973:86). Thus, a word in Sre may be defined as consisting of a main syllable, optionally preceded by a presyllable (7).

$$(7) \quad \text{PW} = (\text{presyllable}) + \text{Main syllable}$$

Metrically, such phonological words constitute an iambic construction of the type (\sim . --).

2.3.1 Presyllables

The fundamental shape of a presyllable is illustrated in (8),

$$(8) \quad c_1 v_1 (c_2)^{32}$$

where the onset (c_1) may be any unaspirated, unimploded obstruent, the nucleus (v_1) is a central vowel / $\partial\partial$ /, and the coda (c_2) is a liquid or /n/. There are two other possible presyllables forms: / ∂a /, and a syllabic nasal that assimilates to the point of articulation of the first segment of the following main syllable (e.g., [m 'paŋ] 'foot,' see #93 in App. B). Presyllables tend to weaken or disappear in many environments. This presyllable weakening is apparently part of a diachronic process operating as an areal tendency towards monosyllabicity in the mainland Southeast Asia region that crosses language family boundaries (Thomas 1971:18-21). Vietnamese, a Mon-Khmer monosyllabic tone language, is an extreme example of this process.

³¹In Austroasiatic descriptive literature, a presyllable is also termed a weak or minor syllable; a main syllable may be termed a strong or major syllable (Thomas 1992).

³²The use of lower case letters for presyllable symbols follows Wallace 1969. Main syllable symbols are indicated by upper case letters.

2.3.2 Main syllables

The fundamental shape of a main syllable is detailed in (9),

$$(9) \quad C_1(C_2[C_3])V_2(C_4[C_5])$$

where the onset consists of $C_1(C_2[C_3])$. C_1 may be any consonant, C_2 may be a glide or liquid (with constraints associated with C_1). C_3 can only be a glide (with constraints associated with C_1 and C_2). The nucleus (V_2) may be any vowel with attendant pitch length. The coda is comprised of ($C_4[C_5]$). C_4 can only be a glide, and C_5 can only be /ʔ/ (with C_4 being either /j/ or /w/) or /h/ (with C_4 being /j/). The permitted main syllable patterns are exemplified in Table 2.4.

Although the majority of Sre words are monosyllabic (with an optional presyllable), there are also polysyllabic items in the lexicon. Disyllabic examples are illustrated in (10-12).

$$(10) \quad CV.CVC$$

- | | | |
|----|-----------------|---|
| a. | <i>cəə.na:ŋ</i> | ‘general term for household items (with a plane surface)’ |
| b. | <i>səə.nəəm</i> | ‘medicine’ |

$$(11) \quad CVC.CVC$$

- | | | |
|----|-----------------|-----------|
| a. | <i>rəən.deh</i> | ‘vehicle’ |
| b. | <i>səər.dan</i> | ‘sugar’ |

$$(12) \quad CVC.CCVC$$

<i>səən.djan</i>	‘steep side of a valley’
------------------	--------------------------

$$(13) \quad CV.CVC.CVC$$

<i>gəə.dan.ŋɔʔ(gəəjʔ)</i>	‘uncontrolled laughter’
---------------------------	-------------------------

2.4 Suprasegmentals

This section on suprasegmentals includes a brief observation of Sre speech and a summary of pitch length in the three dialects documented in this study. Concerning Sre speech, Smalley observed that

Sre speech is characterized by a marked tenseness and preciseness of articulation. Phrasal groupings may be identified by final stress, and are bounded by space. A sharp syllable-timing, plus the allophones of tone-length, make syllable division fairly easy medially on the phonetic level (1955:218-219).

All Sre vowels in subdialect A are phonemically normal in length (with level pitch, short, and unmarked) or long (with falling pitch and marked). Phonetically, Sre maps three vowel lengths onto two phonemic pitch length units:³³ short/unmarked and long/marked. Sre subdialects are distinguished at one level by the differences in how each dialect handles pitch accent. The prosodic term MORA³⁴ is used to indicate the relative duration of a segment—vowels in the case. Pitch length in the three Sre dialects is summarized in Table 2.5.

Long vowels decrease in duration when they are not at the end of a word, particularly if unstressed. Sometimes they are as short as short vowels, but it is always possible to hear the difference because the pitch on long vowels is different from that of short vowels.

³³Pitch length is also referred to as pitch-accent or tone-length in other works (Smalley 1955:218).

³⁴A MORA is a term used to describe the length of segments. It is a relative measurement of metrical time equal to the duration of a short vowel or half a long vowel; it is used as a unit of pitch placement in a syllable. A long syllable or geminate consonants comprise two morae (or moras) (Carr 2008:103; Crystal 2001:222; Matthews 2007:251).

The following data are based on my spectrographic measurements of a speaker of subdialect A (recorded in 1968 from K'Bris, of Kao Kwil, a village east of Di Linh).

Vowels, for the most part, tend to retain their pitch length characteristics, though attenuated, in polysyllabic compounds. The range of pitch rise and the height attained is conditioned by the position of the syllable within a word. In general, rising pitch tends to attenuate the further a syllable is from final position in a word. To illustrate, the pitch rise in the vowel [ú:] of [dú:l] 'one' in /ɟəət du:l/ [ɟīt dú:l] 'eleven' is +800 Hertz (Hz).³⁵ That is, the fundamental frequency increases by 800 Hz over the duration of the vowel. The pitch rise as the penult vowel in /du:l rhjaŋ/ [dú' rhjā·ŋ] 'one hundred' is +100 Hz. Level pitch is not affected by syllable position.

While the pitch environment within a particular syllable conditions vowel length, relative vowel duration is also determined by the position of the syllable within a word. Generally speaking, duration decreases the further a syllable is from the final position in a word. For example, the vowel [i] in [n'ti:(ŋ)] 'bone', in isolation, is 340 milliseconds (msec) in duration; as the (main syllable) vowel in [(ŋ)ti·ŋ rəə'pas] 'rib', 170 msec, and in [n'tiŋ gəə·r ŋ'kə·j] 'backbone' 130 msec.

2.5 History of orthographies

In the preparation of a dictionary and a reference grammar for the Kôho language, a decision on which orthography to use is crucial. A romanized orthography based on the Vietnamese national alphabet (*quốc ngữ*) was developed in 1935 for the Sre dialect by

³⁵HERTZ (Hz) is the current International System designation for cycles per second (cps). The change in the 10th harmonic of the vowel is used here to indicate the change in pitch. The 800 Hz measurement needs to be reanalyzed. It was measured manually on a spectrogram of a poor quality recording.

French colonial administrators and missionaries. That orthography, while festooned with diacritics (like Vietnamese), was the most consistently systematic alphabet (i.e., nearly phonemic) utilized to date. Both missionary and government documents were published in that alphabet. In 1949, a new orthography commission met in Đà Lạt to devise an acceptable replacement (Martini 1952). Even among a newly literate people, attachment to a written tradition, however brief, attendant with a particular orthography, lingers on. Recent proposals have gained acceptance only with difficulty in some circles.³⁶

Subsequent orthographies were proposed in 1953 and in the 1960s. The main controversy over the orthography arose between different factions of the Protestant (Tin Lành) churches. One group retained <î> to represent the phoneme /e/ in its publications (a hold-over from the 1936 alphabet); the other used <ê>, which was consistent with the orthography developed by the Christian and Missionary Alliance, in conjunction with the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The latter orthography was employed by the former Republic of Vietnam (Saigon) government for use in educational materials published by the Highlander Education Project. The 1967 New Testament and 1993 Psalms were published in that orthography. The complete Bible was published in 2010 in the CMA/SIL orthography. In North Carolina, the orthography employed depends on which church one is affiliated with. In Vietnam, after 1976, all previous (i.e., south Vietnamese) pedagogical materials were discarded. In 1983, the Vietnamese government introduced a

³⁶I am indebted to the late William A. Smalley for documentation and a personal interview (Honolulu, 1975) to discuss this and related subjects. (In connection with this, see Smalley 1954 and also Manley 1972 [pp. 38-9].) To complicate the situation further, Evans and Bowen in their *Koho Language Course* reverse two symbols, using <o> for /a/ and <ɔ> for /ɔ/, whereas in the standard orthography <o> represents /ɔ/ (1962:6a, 53- 54), while /a/ (if it occurs in that subdialect) is written as <ɔ> or <ɔ̃>.

quốc ngữ-based orthography, which has essentially been rejected by Koho living in North Carolina.

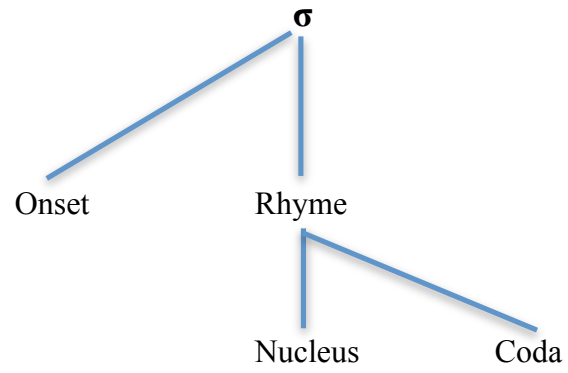


Figure 2.1 Syllable structure tree diagram

Table 2.1 Consonant phonemes

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Voiceless unaspirated stops	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
Voiceless aspirated stops	<i>p^h</i>	<i>t^h</i>	<i>c^h</i>	<i>k^h</i>	
Voiced stops	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>g</i>	
Implosives	<i>ɓ</i>	<i>ɗ</i>			
Fricatives		<i>s</i>			<i>h</i>
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Aspirated nasals	<i>m^h</i>	<i>n^h</i>	<i>ɲ^h</i>	<i>(*ŋ^h)</i>	
Trill		<i>r</i>			
Aspirated trill		<i>r^h</i>			
Lateral		<i>l</i>			
Aspirated lateral		<i>l^h</i>			
Glides	<i>w</i>		<i>j</i>		

Table 2.2 Vowel phonemes

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>	<i>ɨ ~ u</i>	<i>u</i>
Mid-high	<i>e</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>o</i>
Mid	<i>ɛ</i>		<i>ɔ</i>
Low	<i>a</i>		<i>ɑ³⁷</i>

³⁷The low back vowel [ɑ] ‘alpha’ occurs in Sre subdialects A and B, but not C.

Table 2.3

Vowel minimal pairs with glosses

Sre vowel	Example	English gloss
<i>i</i>	<i>ʔis</i>	‘alone’
<i>i:</i>	<i>ʔ:is</i>	‘hang up clothes (to dry)’
<i>e</i>	<i>re(wəəl)</i>	‘return (home)’
<i>e:</i>	<i>re:p</i>	‘(be) near, close; beside’
<i>ɛ</i>	<i>rɛ</i>	‘swim’ (v.)
<i>ɛ:</i>	<i>bɛ:p</i>	‘father’
<i>a</i>	<i>ʔaŋ</i>	‘I (1 st person singular)’
<i>a:</i>	<i>ʔa:ŋ</i>	‘carry on back with shoulder straps’
<i>u</i> (~ <i>i</i>)	<i>luŋ</i>	‘gums’
<i>u:</i>		(occurs primarily in personal names; e.g., [mu:h] ‘male personal name’)
<i>ə</i>	<i>bəəs</i>	‘snake’
<i>u</i>	<i>ʃun</i>	‘carry’
<i>u:</i>	<i>ʃu:n</i>	‘a kind of deer’
<i>o</i>	<i>po</i>	‘suck, feed at breast’
<i>o:</i>	<i>po:n</i>	‘hide’ (v.)
<i>ɔ</i>	<i>dɔ</i>	‘this (here)’
<i>ɔ:</i>	<i>dɔ:</i>	‘wear s.t. on hand or arm’
<i>ɑ:</i>	<i>ʔ ɑ:ʔ</i>	‘no, not (negation marker)’

Table 2.4

Examples of permitted Sre main syllable patterns

Sequence	Form	Gloss
CV	<i>sa</i>	‘eat’
CVC	<i>gir</i>	‘catch fish with a basket’
CVCC	<i>ləw?</i>	‘fold’
CCV	<i>sre</i>	‘irrigated rice paddy’
CCVC	<i>blah</i>	‘split’
CCVCC	<i>glaj?</i>	‘satisfy, expiate’
CCCV	<not attested>	---
CCVC	<i>krjaŋ</i>	‘a kind of hard wood’
*CCCVCC	<not attested> ³⁸	---

Table 2.5 Sre pitch length by subdialect

Sre dialect			
A		B	C
Unmarked {v}/v/ 'short'			
½ mora [v̥]	high level / ___obstruents	high level / ___obstruents and glottals	high, level V / ___Cvless
1 mora [vˈ]	high level slight downglide / ___sonorants	downglide / ___sonorants	level V slight downglide / ___Cvcd
2 morae [vː]	high falling / ___#	low upglide / ___sonorants	high, falling / ___#
Marked {v̌}/v̌/ 'long'			
½ mora [v̌]	---	---	---
1 mora [v̌ˈ]	---	high falling / ___#	low V upglide / ___Cvcd
2 morae [v̌ː]	low falling / ___C#	low rising / ___#, obstruents and glottals	low-rising V / ___# or Cvless

³⁸No examples of the maximal main syllable template have been found in the Koho materials available.

CHAPTER 3

MORPHOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Morphology is the study of the grammatical properties of words and how they relate to one another in a language. Because morphology studies word relationships, it determines what procedures a given language needs to create new words. As such, morphology interacts with all the other components of the grammar—syntax, phonology, and semantics. Morphology is traditionally subdivided into roots or stems and inflectional and derivational affixes, with word formation closely related.

There is very little evidence of inflectional morphology (i.e., paradigms) in Sre, Kŕho dialects, or other Mon-Khmer languages because of the diachronic trend towards monosyllabicity in many of these languages. Vietnamese is the prime example of a Mon-Khmer language with very little inflection; it is considered to be almost totally analytical and isolating.

The second basic process is word formation; it has two components: derivational morphology (§3.2) and compounding (§3.3).

3.2 Derivational morphology

Inflectional morphology involves such phenomena as noun inflection and verb conjugation. The Latin language is an example of the extensive use of inflectional

morphology. However, addition of inflectional affixes does not change the basic meaning of the root word.

Derivational morphology, on the other hand, may involve affixes that change the grammatical category of a root, modify the transitivity (valence) of a verb root, or create a diminutive or distributive form of the root.

3.2.1 Affixation

Sre affixation presents several challenges. It is not always obvious whether a particular affix is productive synchronically or is a fossilized or lexicalized form. Some affixes have homophonous forms that perform differently from the source of the affix. It is difficult to discern just which syntactic categories (word classes) are involved because the boundaries are often fluid. This is especially true in distinguishing between affixes and clitics. The affixes and clitics listed in this section are not exhaustive by any means; this is definitely an area that warrants deeper analysis.

3.2.1.1 Prefixes

Sre prefixes are generally attached to verbs, but a few do act on other syntactic categories (e.g., nouns). It is often difficult to distinguish between a prefix and a presyllable that is part of the root because of phonological similarity (i.e., homophones) and the volatile or unstable nature of any segments that precede a main syllable.

3.2.1.1.1 Causative prefix *təən-*. One of the more productive prefixes in Kōho-Sre is *təən-*. This prefix converts intransitive verbs to causative verbs. The derived verb has the meaning of ‘causing someone or something to do something unintentionally,’ or ‘to make happen to someone or something else.’ Allomorphs are created by phonological rules

- | | | |
|------|------------------------|---|
| | ‘to go down’ | ‘to lower; to make go down’ |
| (20) | <i>mut</i> | <i>təə.mut</i> (* <i>təən-mut</i>) |
| | ‘to go in, enter’ | ‘to make go in’ |
| (21) | <i>ndaw</i> | <i>təən.daw</i> (* <i>təən-ndaw</i>) |
| | ‘to wear on the head’ | ‘to put on someone’s head’ |
| (22) | <i>ɲac</i> | <i>təə.ɲac</i> (* <i>təən-ɲac</i>) |
| | ‘to be well (goodbye)’ | ‘to wish one well; to farewell someone’ |

The nasal-lateral cluster rule (3b) operates on (23), but does not affect (24-25) for reasons that are as yet unclear.

- | | | |
|------|---------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (23) | <i>lik</i> | <i>təə.lik</i> (* <i>təən-lik</i>) |
| | ‘to go out’ | ‘to make to go out’ |
| (24) | <i>le:</i> | <i>təən.le:</i> |
| | ‘to melt, dissolve’ | ‘to make dissolve’ |
| (25) | <i>ljah</i> | <i>təən.ljah</i> |
| | ‘to be short’ | ‘to make short’ |

The nasal assimilation rule (3c-d) operates on (26-27).

- | | | |
|------|---------------|----------------------------------|
| (26) | <i>gəəs</i> | <i>təəŋ.gəəs</i> |
| | ‘to have’ | ‘to beget; to have more’ |
| (27) | <i>kah</i> | <i>təəŋ.kah</i> |
| | ‘to remember’ | ‘to remind; to make to remember’ |

⁴⁰Forms in parentheses with an asterisk (*) indicate output that has undergone a phonological rule that alters the affix configuration pattern.

Additionally, Nguyễn posits a related form *təər-* that generally denotes a certain movement associated with a causative meaning (28) (1973:26; §4.3.1.4).

- (28) a. *ʔaŋ rəp aɟ₃ təər wəəl ŋaj-hiŋ.*
 1 ATELIC take CAUS.return tomorrow
 ‘I will cause it to be returned tomorrow.’
- b. *Hiw dɔ təərlah-təərləəm jəəh*
 house this collapse-RED completely
 ‘This house collapsed completely.’
- c. *təərlah-təərlɪŋ*
 to collapse, demolish-RED
 ‘to collapse completely

3.2.1.1.2 Causative prefix *bəə-*. The causative prefix *bəə-* is added to stative verbs to indicate ‘become the quality of’ (29-30). This is similar to the English suffix *-en* which performs the same operation ‘to make, render (of a given character or quality)’: *hard* > *hard-en*.

- (29) *soŋ* *bəə.soŋ*
 ‘straight’ ‘to straighten (to cause to be straight)’
- (30) *sa:r* *bəə.sa:r*
 ‘hard’ ‘to harden (to cause to be hard)’

When prefixed to a transitive verb root, it has a causative meaning (31-32).

- (31) *cah* *bəə.cah*
 ‘to break’ ‘to cause to separate, sort out’
- (32) *kap* *bəə.kap*

‘to bite’

‘to cause to bite (press)’

3.2.1.1.3 Transitivizing prefix *pəən-* The prefix *pəən-* (and an allomorph *təən-*) is

added to stative verbs: ‘[to] cause (someone) to have the quality indicated by the verb’

(33-34) (Manley 1972:44-45),

- (33) *riŋ* *pəən.riŋ ~ təən.riŋ*
 ‘to.be.equal’ ‘to make (s.o.) to be equal’

- (34) *hɑ:p* *pəən.hɑ:p*
 ‘to.be.envious’ ‘to make (s.o.) envious’

but when the stative verb begins with a glottal, the alveolar feature of the coda /n/ in the prefixed *pəən-* is progressively assimilated into the initial glottal segment of the main syllable (35-37) (Nguyễn 1973:27fn1).

- (35) *ʔum* ‘to bathe’ *pəən.dum* ‘to bathe (s.o.)’
 (36) *ʔa:ŋ* ‘to be bright’ *pəən.dɑ:ŋ* ‘to illuminate (s.t.)’
 (37) *ʔja:ŋ* ‘to be comfortable, at ease’ *pəən.dʃa:ŋ* ‘to put (s.o.) at ease’

3.2.1.1.4 Passivizing prefix *gəə-*⁴¹ The prefix *gəə-* is added to monosyllabic verb roots. In Sre, when the predicate is an animate agent, that element is deleted (38b).

When the predicate is an inanimate agent, that predicate is retained and preceded by a preposition (the instrumental preposition *məə* in this case) (39b).

- (38) a. *K^haj pa:ʔ mpo:ŋ.*
 3 open door
 ‘S/he opens the door.’

⁴¹The prefix *gəə-* has several homophones. In addition, the third person singular pronoun *gəə*_{1/2} also has several homophones, the analysis of which is beyond the scope of this study. See §4.2.1.2.

- b. *Mpo:ŋ gəə-pa:ʔ* \emptyset .
 door PASS-open
 ‘The door (was) opened.’
- (39) a. *Ca:l pa:ʔ mpo:ŋ*.
 wind open door
 ‘The wind opened the door.’
- b. *Mpo:ŋ gəə-pa:ʔ məə ca:l*.
 door PASS-open INS wind

‘The door was opened by the wind.’

3.2.1.1.5 Unresolved prefixes or clitics. There are several allomorphs of the prefix *bɛ-*: one is a possible similitive proclitic (or perhaps a prefix) added to determiners with the meaning ‘to be like’ (40); the other is a possible interrogative proclitic which occurs with a few verb roots making them questions (41).

- (40) a. *dɔ* *bɛ-dɔ*
 ‘this’ ‘like-this’
- b. *ɲc^{hi} dɔ* *me cih bɛ-dɔ*
 ‘what’s this?’ ‘you write like-this’
- (41) a. *ləəh* *bɛ-ləəh*
 ‘to make, do’ ‘what to make or do?’
- b. *k^haj ləəhhiw* *bɛ-ləəh k^haj*
 ‘he builds the house’ ‘what to do with him?’

3.2.1.2 Infixes

Infixes are almost always inserted after the initial consonant of the base (onset C₁). They generate cognate nominal elements.⁴²

3.2.1.2.1 Nominalizing infix -*əən*-. The infix -*əən*- is inserted into transitive verbs.

The derived noun has the meaning of ‘that which is the goal of the action indicated by the verb.’ This infix has several allomorphs: -*əəmp*- and -*əərn*-. The resulting cognate forms often have instrumental (42), result (43), or locational (44) meanings. After infixation, the derived form resyllabifies. The presyllable *ʔa*- is ignored by this infix; it operates on the initial onset of the main syllable (46). Exx. (42), (46), and (47) undergo phonological rule (3b).

(42)	<i>pleh</i>	<i>pəə.nɛh</i>		<i>(*p-əən-leh)</i>
	‘to make way; withdraw	‘an obstruction to divert water’		
(43)	<i>pat</i>	<i>p-əən-at</i>	>	<i>pəə.nat</i>
	‘to knead, squeeze’	‘s.t. kneaded (clay, dough, etc.)’		
(44)	<i>sɛ</i>	<i>s-əən-ɛ</i>	>	<i>səə.nɛ</i>
	‘to turn, detour’	‘place where detour begins or ends’		
(46)	<i>ʔasuh</i>	<i>s-əən-uh</i>	>	<i>səə.nuh</i>
	‘to blow on a fire’	‘bellows’		
(47)	<i>blɔ</i>	<i>bəə.nɔ</i>		<i>(*b-əən-lɔ)</i>
	‘to wear in the ear’	‘earring’		
(48)	<i>klɔ</i>	<i>kəə.nɔ</i>		<i>(*k-əən-lɔ)</i>
	‘to hear’	‘to hear’		

⁴²English equivalents are: *He slept a deep sleep.* and *He dreamed/dreamt a dream.*

- (49) *par* *pəən.dar* (**p-əən-ar*)⁴³
 ‘to fly’ ‘wing’
- (50) *gar* *g-əən-ar* > *gəə.nar*
 ‘seed n.’ ‘classifier for seeds, kernels’
- (51) *tap* *t-əən-ap* > *təə.nap*
 ‘egg n.’ ‘classifier for eggs’

3.2.1.2.2 Nominalizing infix *-əəmp-*. The infix *-əəmp-* is inserted into monosyllabic

transitive verbs. The derived noun has the meaning of ‘that which is used in the action indicated by the verb.’ In the available data, this infix only occurs in verb roots with initial /s-/.⁴⁴ Additionally, no forms had high vowels [i, ɪ, u] in the root.

- (52) *se:t* *s-əəmp-e:t* > *səəm.pe:t*
 ‘to plug up’ ‘a plug’
- (53) *sa:c* *s-əəmp-a:c* > *səəm.pa:c*
 ‘to fish by draining’ ‘the place one stands to fish by draining’
- (54) *sa:n* *s-əəmp-a:n* > *səəm.pa:n*
 ‘to wedge in’ ‘a wedge’
- (55) *sɔ:l* *s-əəmp-ɔ:l* > *səəm.pɔ:l*
 ‘to illuminate’ ‘a torch’
- (56) *so:c* *s-əəmp-o:c* > *səəm.po:c*

⁴³ See §3.2.1.1.3 above.

⁴⁴ The *-əəmp-* infix also occurs with initial /s/ in the Koho dialect Ryong Tô, and other South Bahnaric languages: Chrau /*set* > *s!pet*/, and Stieng /*se:t* > *sape:t*/. All meaning ‘to plug’ and ‘a plug,’ respectively. Marianna Di Paolo suggests that *-əəmp-* could be an instance of the coda /n/ in the nominalizing infix /-əən-/ assimilating to the /-p-/ infix as seen in Ryong To, Chrau, and Stieng.

- | | | | | |
|------|------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|
| | ‘to sting (of a bee)’ | | ‘the sting (of a bee)’ | |
| (57) | <i>sro:m</i> | <i>s-əəmp-ro:m</i> | > | <i>səəm.pro:m</i> |
| | ‘to sheathe (a sword)’ | | ‘a scabbard’ | |
| (58) | <i>sraŋ</i> | <i>s-əəmp-raŋ</i> | > | <i>səəm.praŋ</i> |
| | ‘to sting (of a fish)’ | | ‘the stinger (of a fish)’ | |

3.2.1.2.3 Nominalizing infix -əərn-. The derived noun has the meaning ‘that which is used in carrying out the action indicated by the verb (59-60).’

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------|-------------------|---|----------------------|
| (59) | <i>kal</i> | <i>k-əərn-al</i> | > | <i>kəər.nal</i> |
| | ‘to bolt, bar’ | | | ‘a wooden door bolt’ |
| (60) | <i>ndəəp</i> | <i>d-əərn-əəp</i> | > | <i>dəər.nəəp</i> |
| | ‘to cover up’ | | | ‘to cover up, hide’ |

In his Sre grammar, Manley discusses the two major morphological processes he observed: affixation and reduplication, both of which he notes have almost completely died out as active processes in the language. He adds that since his data were limited, generalizations were difficult to formulate (1972:40-41). *Pace* Manley states that affixes are added exclusively to verbs. Nguyễn adds that the infix -əərn- occurs only in roots with back vowels, while the other infixes are not constrained by the root verb vowel (1973:35). Neither of these observations is entirely accurate. The accumulation of more data since the 1970s indicates that Sre affixation is much more complex than previously though. This section only touches on the more prominent and recurrent forms.

3.3 Clitics

Zwicky (1977) provides the classic definition of a (simple) CLITIC as ‘a phonological weakening and attachment of a morphologically free form to another

phonological expression.’ He terms special clitics ‘as forms which are not found in the syntax where the expected corresponding nonclitic form would occur and that these are attached to another expression in the morphosyntax.’ The base word that the clitic binds to is called the HOST (Payne 1997:22). Clitics preceding the host are termed PROCLITICS; clitics following the host are ENCLITICS (61).

(61) Proclitic + host + enclitic

3.3.1 Reciprocal proclitic *tam=*

The reciprocal proclitic *tam=* indicates that the plural actors involved in the verbal action do something to each other. The derived verb form requires two subjects or plural actors (62b-63b).

(62) a. *k^haj ləəh caw*
 3 hit someone
 ‘S/he hits someone.’

b. *caw dɔ mə caw nɛ tam=ləəh*
 person this and person that RECP=fight
 ‘This man and that man fight each other.’

(63) a. *k^haj ʔəəm bal-məə bau ʔur ta:m ɓɔn k^haj de*
 3 live with spouse womanin village 3 GEN
 ‘He stays with his wife in her village.’

b. *ka:ŋ-gəəbəəh bal-məə tam=bau*
 love with RECP=spouse
 ‘Love each other (and) get married.’

3.3.2 Possessive/reflexive enclitic =*tam*

The enclitic =*tam* denotes personal possession and is added to the end of the noun.

- (64) *dɔ la: sraʔ=tam ʔaŋ je⁴⁵*
 this is book=POSS 1 GEN
 ‘This is my own book.’

- (65) *dɔ la: sraʔ=tam k^haj de*
 this is book=POSS 3 GEN
 ‘This is his own book.’

The reflexive enclitic is formed by adding =*tam* to *saʔ* ‘body.’

- (66) *saʔ=tam*
 body=REFL
 ‘myself, yourself, him/herself’
- (67) *saʔ=tam ʔaŋ kɔŋ lɔt dra:*
 body=REFL 1 want go market
 ‘I myself want to go to market.’

- (68) *Məə-ya saʔ=tam k^haj la caw ləh suəən.*
 but body=REFL 3 is person work garden
 ‘But he’s a farmer himself.’

⁴⁵This is an instance of rule (6) in Chapter 2.

3.4 Compounding

Compounding is a generic term for a linguistic unit composed of two or more roots, each of which could function independently in other circumstances. The dominant semantic property is that the meaning of a compound is either more specific, creates a generalized form from overlapping semantic fields, or is entirely different from the combined meanings of the words that comprise the compound (69-72).

- | | | | | | |
|------|---------------------|---|------------------|---|---------------|
| (69) | <i>mɛ:.bɛ:p</i> | < | <i>mɛ:ʔ</i> | + | <i>bɛ:p</i> |
| | ‘parents’ | | ‘mother’ | | ‘father’ |
| (70) | <i>ʔo:j.ʔaw</i> | < | <i>ʔo:j</i> | + | <i>ʔaw</i> |
| | ‘clothes’ | | ‘blanket, skirt’ | | ‘shirt’ |
| (71) | <i>ʔəʔlu.məʔɲan</i> | < | <i>ʔəʔluʔ</i> | + | <i>məʔɲan</i> |
| | ‘dishes’ | | ‘large bowl’ | | ‘small bowl’ |
| (72) | <i>muh.mat</i> | < | <i>muh</i> | + | <i>mat</i> |
| | ‘face’ | | ‘nose’ | | ‘eye’ |

CHAPTER 4

SYNTACTIC CATEGORIES: WORD CLASSES

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of syntactic categories in Sre. Syntactic categories (word classes) are the traditional ‘parts of speech’ and more modern approaches also include phrasal categories, (e.g., noun phrase, verb phrase, adpositional phrase, etc.) The category of a word (or lexical item or phrasal category) is typically determined by its distribution, that is, its place in a sentence, its morphology (then affixes it may take), and by its function in a sentence. Categories are not usually based on semantic criteria. Each language will have its own distributional criteria (Crystal 2001:366; Carnie 2007:37).

The grammatical functions of words in languages of the Southeast Asian linguistic area are quite malleable, presenting the linguist with a categorization problem in terms of syntactic and semantic categories. Daley (1998:12fn7) discusses the problem in her study of Vietnamese classifiers:

Some grammarians create their own terminology in ‘despair of imposing ready-made “Standard Average European” category-labels on all form-classes and construction types’ (quoting Matisoff 1991:445). While it is difficult to distinguish and name many grammatical categories found in Vietnamese, in most cases I use conventional terms which most nearly fit the function of the word in question.

Koho-Sre syntax shares many features with Vietnamese syntax as the languages are distantly related within the Austroasiatic phylum.

Baker (2003:3) notes that ‘a serious consequence of the underdevelopment of this aspect of syntactic theory [differences among the lexical categories] is that it leaves us ill equipped to do typology.’ Further he states that

The literature contains many claims that one language has a different stock of lexical categories from another. In many cases, these claims have caused controversy within the descriptive traditions of the language families in question. ... Nor do we make interesting predictions about what the consequences of having a different set of basic categories would be for the grammar of a language as a whole.

Additionally, Baker states that lexical categories involve the traditional components of linguistics including derivational morphology, inflectional morphology, syntax, and semantics. In addition,

Most languages—probably all—turn out to have the same three-way distinction between nouns, verbs, and adjectives falling out along reasonably familiar line, once various confounding factors (such as the presence of functional categories) are properly controlled for (Baker 2003:21).

This chapter will explore how Sre word classes can best be delineated by the use of putative lexical categories (§4.2), followed by a discussion of functional categories (§4.3). Granted, there are fuzzy boundaries between categories, plus the lexical/functional dichotomy itself may or may not provide the absolute elegant exposition that a good descriptive grammar strives for.

4.2 Lexical categories: content word classes

Lexical categories provide the content of a sentence. The categories include nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. Generally, lexical categories consist of an open class of items, that is, new lexemes and neologisms can be added to the lexicon. There is no limit to the inventory of a particular category. This section includes nominal elements (§4.2.1), verbal elements (§4.2.2), and adjectives and adverbs (§4.2.3).

4.2.1 Nominal elements

Nominal elements discussed in this section include common nouns (§4.2.1.1), pronouns (§4.2.1.2), names and terms of address (§4.2.1.3), measure and quantity words (§4.2.1.4), and classifiers (§4.2.1.5).

4.2.1.1 Common nouns

Nouns are the one obligatory constituent of a noun phrase. Examples of common nouns are listed in Table 4.1.

4.2.1.2 Pronouns

Table 4.2 lists Sre personal pronouns. First person plural has an exclusive/inclusive dichotomy; second person singular and plural distinguish masculine, feminine, and affinal forms.⁴⁶ Third person pronouns have animate categories divided into [\pm human] and a nonhuman [\pm animate] homophonous *gh*₂ ‘it’ that is neuter and often functions as an anaphor.

Dournes (1950:58) notes that *dî* (masculine/feminine) replaces *me* and *ʔaj*₁ as a term of respect in addressing in-laws (affines). Evans and Bowen (1962:50) comment that the second person singular familiar affinal *ʔi* is a generally accepted term used among persons of either sex. More often than not, the second person pronouns are replaced in discourse by the relevant kin term that indicates a degree of respect from the speaker.

⁴⁶ *Aj*₁ has several homophones: *aj*₂ ‘give to (with dative marker *ʔin*)’; *aj*₃ ‘take’; and *aj*₄ ‘as for.’

Another practice is *teknonymy*, where the parents' name derives from their children (usually the oldest) (e.g., <Mè Sem> [mɛː sɛm], 'the mother of Sem') (see 73).

- (73) *Njam saʔ, bap sraŋ. ʔi pa tus taː m Daːlaːc səʔ*
 Good body father Srang. 2 new arrive to Dalat Q
 'Hello, father of Srang. Have you just come to Đà Lạt?'

First person singular as a subject pronoun is illustrated in (74); dative pronouns examples are (75-77); and possessive usages are shown in (78-80).

- (74) *ʔaŋ kaːn sraʔ həʔ*
 1 want book that
 'I want that book.'

- (75) *ʔaj₂ ʔaŋ ʔin sraʔ həʔ.*
 give 1 DAT book that
 'Give (to) me that book.'

- (76) *dan cʰaŋ baːr-pɛ təʔnaŋ bəl-hɛ ʔin*
 please fry two-three egg PL.1INCL DAT
 'Please fry some eggs for us.'

- (77) *ʔaj₂ kʰaŋ ʔin huːc daːʔ*
 give 3 DAT drink water
 'Give (to) him/her water to drink.'

Possession is indicated by adding *de* (*je* for 1st person) after the pronoun.⁴⁷

- (78) a. *sraʔ ʔaŋ je* b. *sraʔ kʰaŋ de* c. *sraʔ kən de*

⁴⁷See Rule (6) in §2.2.2. This appears to be a Proto-South Bahnaric phonological rule (external sandhi), which also occurs in the other South Bahnaric languages: Chrau, Mnong, and Stieng.

- book 1 GEN book 3 GEN book child GEN
 ‘my book’ ‘his/her book’ ‘the child’s book’
- (79) *ʔaj₂ ʔaŋ ʔin sraʔ ʔaŋ ʔe*
 give 1 DAT book 1 GEN
 ‘Give me my book.’
- (80) *k^haj la bəəyo bəl-he de.*
 3 is friend PL.1INCL GEN
 ‘S/he is our friend.’

Anaphoric pronominals include the third person pronoun *gəə₂* ‘it’, which has the features [-human, -animate] and is homophonous with *gəə₁*. It may also refer anaphorically to sentential antecedents, as seen in (81.b and 82, 83).

- (81) a. *Nte:ŋ dəh dra:ʔ_{i}*
 where side market_{i}
 ‘Where is the market?’ (Manley 1972:118)
- b. *Gəə_{2{i}} dəh ma guŋ.* Or just c. *dəh ma.*
 it_{i} side right road
 ‘It is on the right side of the road.’
- (82) *ʔaj₂ ʔaŋ ʔin p^he_{i} həəʔ, ʔaŋ ka:n was gəə_{2{i}}*
 give 1 DAT rice that 1 want measure it
 ‘Bring me that rice, I want to measure it.’ (E&B078/019)
- (83) *dilah ʔaŋ bəp gəə_{2{i}} ʔaŋ rəəgəəj hu:c_{i}*
 if 1 sip it 1 able drink
 ‘If I can sip it, I can drink it.’ (E&B044/025)

4.2.1.3 Names and terms of address

Sre personal names, of either sex, are usually prefixed with <K’-> *kəə-*, as in <K’Sem> *kəə.sem*. Some names are preceded by <Ha> *ha-*, as in <Ha Sol> *ha.səl*. The names themselves are usually monosyllabic. Certain naming taboos and a preference for a unique name sometimes violate basic phonological rules.

In subdialect B, the (interrogative) vocative form *hah* (VOC) is used to address family members, using the appropriate kin term (84).

- (84) a. *mbəəh* *me* *tus*, ***hah*** *bɛ:p*
 from.where 2M come VOC father
 ‘Where are you coming from, father?’
- b. *ɲc^{hi}* *ʔaj₁* *ləəh*, ***hah*** *mɛ:*
 what 2F do VOC mother
 ‘What are you doing, mother?’

4.2.1.4 Measure and quantity words

Measure and quantity words include numerals and classifiers. Although they are technically adjectivals, they are discussed under nominals.

4.2.1.4.1 Numerals. Sre employs a decimal numeral system. Numerals are delineated in Table 4.3. Numerals preceding a noun are interpreted as cardinals (85); numerals following a noun are interpreted as ordinals (86).

- (85) *praw* *kəənhaj*
 six month
 ‘six months’

- (86) *kəənhaj* *praw*

month six

‘the sixth month, June

4.2.1.4.2 Classifiers.⁴⁸ Many Asian and American Indian languages make extensive use of classifiers (e.g., Vietnamese and Navajo). Many Southeast Asian languages do also.

Allan (1977) distinguishes four types of classifier languages: 1) numeral classifier languages (ex. Thai), 2) concordial classifier languages (ex. many Bantu and Australian languages), 3) predicate classifier languages (ex. Navajo), and 4) intra-locative classifier languages (only 3 known: Toba, Eskimo, and Dyirbal) (286-8). Focusing on the first type, numeral classifier languages, he notes that only four sequences are permissible for the paradigm combination of quantifier (QNTF), classifier (CLF), and noun (N) (288)(ex. 111).

(111) Allan’s four permissible sequences for numeral classifier languages:

- QNTF + CLF + N: Amerindian languages, Bengali, Chinese, Semitic languages, Vietnamese
- N + QNTF + CLF: Burmese, Japanese, Thai
- CLF + QNTF + N: Kiriwina (Oceanic)
- N + CLF + QNTF: Louisiade archipelago (Oceanic)

Koho numeral classifiers fall into Allan’s first category: QNTF+ CLF + N (see following for examples).

Aikhenvald (2003:98) notes that numeral classifiers do not have to appear on any constituent outside the numeral noun phrase; so, there is no agreement in numeral

⁴⁸This section is a revision of Olsen 2009d.

classifier between the noun and another constituent. She notes that numeral classifiers have other, contingent properties (87).

- (87) a. The choice of a numeral classifier is predominantly semantic
- b. Numeral classifier systems differ in the extent to which they are grammaticalized. *Numeral classifiers can be an open lexical class.* (Emphasis mine.)
- c. In some numeral classifier languages, not every noun can be associated with a numeral classifier. Some nouns take no classifier at all; other nouns may have alternative choices of classifier, depending on which property of the noun is in focus.

There are approximately forty classifiers in Sre.⁴⁹ All Sre concrete nouns can be counted and must be preceded by a classifier when being enumerated, with certain exceptions. Sre classifiers may be divided into two groups—those that are termed *concrete* and those that termed *abstract* (Manley 1972:119). The concrete classifiers fall into three major subcategories (88).

- (88) a. *naʔ* for humans
- b. *naj* for roundish, solid objects (such as fruit, rocks, footballs, grains of rice or wheat, etc.)
- c. *nəəm* for nonhuman animate creatures and all other inanimate objects not classified by *naj*

⁴⁹In Chrau, a sister language south of Koho, there are about forty regular classifiers, five standard classifiers, and fifteen temporary measure classifiers (Thomas 1971:130-135).

The three basic classifiers listed above are replacing the more specialized classifier functions. Examples of these classifier constructions are exemplified in (89).

- (89) a. *ba:r naʔ caw ʔu:r*
 two CLF person woman
 ‘two women’
- b. *pɛ naj luʔ*
 three CLF rock
 ‘three rocks’
- c. *praw nɔəm sraʔ*
 six CLF book
 ‘six books’

In addition to these three classifiers, there are other, more specialized classifiers that are not used that much and appear to be dying out.⁵⁰ They include measure classifiers borrowed from French (often via Vietnamese)(90).

- (90) a. *lit* liter < Vietnamese *lít* < French *litre*
- b. *kiʔ* kilogram < Vietnamese *kí* < French *kilogramme*
- c. *tʰəək* meter < Vietnamese *thước*⁵¹

There are also traditional indigenous measure classifiers (91).

- (91) a. *bo:ŋ* one length (standing with arm upraised)

⁵⁰An explanation for this is that many of the objects that required these more restrictive categories are not found in the speakers’ increasingly urbanized environment, both in Vietnam and overseas. For a relevant discussion, see Nettle and Romaine 2000:62-66.

⁵¹More recently, the term *mét* (< Vietnamese < French) has come into use.

- b. *la:s* one length (distance, when arms outstretched and fingers also extended, from fingertips of one to fingertip of the other)
- c. *nda:m* one span (distance from thumb to middle finger of spread hand)
- d. *tal* one cubit (length from elbow to fingertips of the same arm)

Examples of contemporary classifier constructions include (92a-c).

- (92) a. *ba:r lit təərna:m*
 two CLF rice-wine
 ‘two liters of wine’
- b. *pwan ki? pwac*
 four CLF meat
 ‘four kilograms of meat’
- c. *jəət tʰəək ba:j*
 ten CLF cloth
 ‘ten meters of cloth’

All abstract nouns must be preceded by the classifier *jəənaw* when counted. *jəənaw* classifies words, languages, songs, poetry, and legends, etc. (93).⁵²

- (93) *ba:r jəənaw pəəndik*
 two CLF poem
 ‘two poems’

Evans and Bowen (1962:14a), in their discussion of Kōho classifiers, demonstrate the anaphoric function of classifiers in discourse (94).

⁵²Manley (1972:123) included *bəəta* in his list of classifiers, but it patterns more as a nominalizer.

one CLF people (*seŋ* = CLF for objects occurring in a sequence or linear order)

Koŋo numeral classifiers are semantically determined by the specificity of the noun categorized. The classifiers are not rigid in their application and can apply in several related or overlapping contexts with respect to the noun. Table 4.4 lists all the classifiers cited in this section, illustrating their scope with examples.

4.2.2 Verbal elements

Verbal elements discussed in this section include intransitive verbs (§4.2.2.1), transitive verbs (§4.2.2.2), and ditransitive verbs (§4.2.2.3) in Sre. Additionally, stative verbs (§4.2.2.4), copular verbs (§4.2.2.5), coverbs (§4.2.2.6), and aspect auxiliaries (§4.2.2.7) are also discussed.

4.2.2.1 Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs have a predicate that takes only one argument (i.e., a valency of 1) (97-98).

(97) *k^haj lo:t.*

3 go

‘S/he goes.’

(98) *ʔaŋ bic.*

1 sleep

‘I sleep.’

4.2.2.2 Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs have predicates that take two obligatory arguments (i.e., a valency of 2) (99-100).

- (99) *dan se:n seŋ dɔ.*
 please read sentence this
 ‘Please read this sentence.’

- (100) *ʔaŋ nɛh sao ha:m raw.*
 1 ATELIC eat full already
 ‘I have eaten to my fill.’ (= ‘I’m satiated.’)

4.2.2.3 Ditransitive verbs

Ditransitive verbs have predicates that take three arguments (i.e., a valency of 3) (101-102).

- (101) *k^haj ʔaj₂ ʔaŋ ʔin do mæŋaŋ da:ʔ.*
 3 give 1 DAT one bowl water
 ‘S/he gave me a bowl of water.’

- (102) *k^haj bəətɔ ʔaŋ ʔin dəs caw*
 3 teach 1 DAT speak people
 ‘S/he teaches me to speak Koho.’

4.2.2.4 Stative verbs

There are two types of stative verbs: quantifiers and true statives, which can include some verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. An example of a quantifier is *ʔwaʔ* ‘to be much, many’ (103); an example of a true stative (derived from an adjective) is *mwat* ‘to

be sad' (104). Adjectives are described in §4.2.3.1.

- (103) *gɛh* *ʔwaʔ* *caw* *ʔu:r* *tam* *dra:ʔ*.
 existential many people womenLOC market
 'There are many women at the market.'

- (104) *ʔo:ŋ* *kra* *nɛ* *mwat* *su:m*.
 man old that to.be.sad always
 'That old man is always sad.'

- Comparative and superlative degree of stative verbs. The comparative degree of statives is *rəʔlaw* 'to exceed, be greater than' + *məʔ* which is a comitative marker meaning 'than' in this construction (105).

- (105) *c^{hi}* *dɔ* *kraʔ* *rəʔlaw-məʔ* *c^{hi}* *nɛ*.
 tree this to-be-hard COMPARATIVE tree that
 'This tree is harder than that tree.'

The superlative degree of statives is *rəʔlaw* + *ʔəʔh* 'to be finished, complete' (106).

- (106) *ʔu:r* *nɛ* *ha:ŋ* *rəʔlaw-ʔəʔh*.
 womanthat to-be-pretty SUPERLATIVE
 'That woman is the prettiest.'

4.2.2.5 Copula verbs

There are five copula verbs in Sre: *la(h)* 'to be', *ʔe:ŋ* 'to be/become', *lah ʔe:ŋ* 'to be', *gəʔs* 'to become/turn into', and *gəʔləʔh* 'to become.' The usage and meaning of these verbs varies depending on the dialect. Sentences (107-109) illustrate some of these subdialectal differences.

- (107) a. *k^haj* *lah (ʔe:ŋ)* *caw* *ywan*.

3 to be person Vietnam

‘S/he is (a) Vietnamese.’ (Subdialect A)

b. *k^haj la bəəyo ʔaŋ je*

3 to be friend 1 GEN

‘S/he is my friend.’ (Subdialect B)

In subdialect B, *lah* means ‘to speak, say’; *je:ŋ* does not appear in the data observed.

(108) a. *k^haj gəəs kwan*

3 become official

‘S/he became an official.’ (Subdialect A)

In subdialect A, *gəəs* serves a mutative function.

b. *k^haj gəəs jəət lɔʔ sre.*

3 have ten CLF paddy.field

‘S/he has ten (wet rice) fields.’ (Subdialect B)

In subdialect B, *gəəs* is an existential verb; when it appears initially in a sentence, it often introduces a content question.

(109) a. *k^haj gəələəh kɔ:p/cha:ʔ-ha:p*

3 become sick/happy

‘S/he got sick/became happy.’ (Subdialect A)

b. *ŋc^{hi} gəələəh k^haj nim*

what make-happen 3 cry

‘What made her/him cry?’ (Subdialect B)

In subdialect B, *gəələəh* has the general meaning of ‘to make something happen to

someone.’ It occurs mostly in interrogative sentences.

4.2.2.6 Coverbs

Coverbs modify the sense of the main verb without changing its basic meaning; they precede the main verb. The principal coverbs are listed in Table 4.5. The first three are true modals. In subdialect A, up to four coverbs may precede the main verb (see ex. 120, below), but Manley (1972:203-204) notes that intelligibility breaks down if there are more than four and many combinations of multiple coverbs produce ungrammatical sentences. The last two coverbs do not occur in the data examined for subdialect B.

Examples of coverb usage are illustrated in (110-119).

- (110) *tuʔ ləʔj di ləəm*
time any be.right only

‘Any time will be all right.’ (Subdialect A)

- (111) *gəəs ʔwaʔ caw kəənəm cih sraʔ ba: di ba:*
existential many people child write paper some be.right some
ʔa:ʔ
not

‘Many children write, some right, some not.’ (Subdialect B)

- (112) *ʔaŋ pal ʔəəm tam bɔ:n*
1 must stay in village

‘I have to/must stay in the village.’ (Subdialect A)

- (113) *ʔo:ŋ pal dəs lɔh-lan*
man must speak clearly

‘You must speak clearly.’ (Subdialect B)

(114) *kɔ:n nɛ rəgəgəj rɛ*

kid that can swim

‘That kid can swim.’ (Subdialect A)

(115) *kun saʔ ɣen-soŋ rəgəgəj mut ta:m hiw ʔaŋ, ...*

stoop body consequently can enter in house 1

‘Stoop over so you can come into my house, ...’ (Subdialect B)

(116) *kʰaj lo:c ləh hiw pa mɛʔ-ba:p kʰaj ʔin*

3 finish make house new mother-father 3 GEN

‘S/he is finishing building the new house for her/his parents.’ (Subdialect A)

(117) *lo:c bɛhəəʔ kʰaj re hiw*

finish that 3 return house

‘After that, s/he went home.’ (Subdialect B)

In subdialect B, *lo:c* only occurs with *bɛhəəʔ* with the meaning ‘after that.’ It generally appears initially in a subordinate clause.

(118) *kʰaj ma:ŋ ləh brwaʔ dɔ*

3 used.to do work this

‘S/he is used to doing this work.’

(119) *caw nɛ təɔlɔ:ŋ bəəsram daʔ: təj*

man that try-to study language French

‘That man is trying to study French.’

Manley cites a ‘monster’ sentence that contains four coverbs, which borders on unintelligibility; it was acceptable to his language consultant, though not something he would say in daily conversation (120).

- (120) *k^haj di təəlɔːŋ maːŋ rəgəəj dəl-sraʔ*
 3 be.right try.to be.used.to be.able.to read
 ‘It is all right for him to try to get used to being able to read.’ (M206/185)

4.2.2.7 Aspect auxiliaries

Sre has two optional aspect auxiliaries that precede the main verb: *nɛh* and *rəəp*. Both of these auxiliaries function not so much as tense markers as indicators of whether an action has been completed or not. *Nɛh* indicates that the action has been completed (TELIC), while *rəəp* signals that an action has not been completed and is either ongoing or will be completed in the future (ATELIC). Since these aspect auxiliaries are optional, Sre speakers will often add a temporal phrase to the sentence to narrow down the context or time frame of the utterance (121-123).⁵³

- (121) *k^haj lɔːt tam Daːlaːc.*
 3 go to Dalat
 ‘S/he goes to Đà Lạt (daily/every month/next year).’ or
 ‘S/he went to Đà Lạt (last year/yesterday).’ or
 ‘S/he will go to Đà Lạt (tomorrow/next month).’

- (122) *k^haj nɛh lɔːt tam Daːlaːc ŋaj ɔr*
 3 TELIC go to Dalat day previous
 ‘S/he went to Đà Lạt yesterday.’

- (123) *nam daʔ k^haj rəəp lɔːt tam Daːlaːc.*

⁵³ An observation by Emaneau (1951:63) concerning Vietnamese verbal syntax parallels Sre, ‘... verbs do not carry the categories of tense and mode. These, to some extent, are carried by the sentence construction, but to an even greater extent they are left to the extra-grammatical context, linguistic or non-linguistic.’

year next 3 ATELIC go to Dalat

‘Next year, I will go to Đà Lạt.’

4.2.3 Adjectives and adverbs

Carnie (2007:44) points out that there is a lot of overlap between the distributions of adjectives and adverbs. The major difference between them is syntactic: adjectives appear inside noun phrases and adverbs occur elsewhere. He notes that this predictable complementary distribution, analogous to the phonological attribution, could tentatively place adjectives and adverbs in the same lexical category. This distribution appears to occur in Sre also. Adjectives are discussed in §4.2.3.1 and adverbs in §4.2.3.2.

4.2.3.1 Adjectives

Adjectives modify nouns. Adjectives are divided into two groups: derived and nonderived. Derived adjectives are lexical copies of stative verbs. They fall into two major subclasses: those that quantify or measure something related to a noun (124a), and those that define a quality associated with a noun (124b).⁵⁴

- (124) a. *bɔl ʔu:r tam dra:ʔ ʔwaʔ ɲan*
 PL woman LOC market (to.be).many very

‘The women at market are very numerous.’ (M208/191)

- b. *ʔaruh nɛ ha:ɲ ɲan*
 young.girl that.DIS to.be.beautiful very

‘That young girl is very beautiful.’ (M208/192)

⁵⁴Both adjectives (and adverbs) can be intensified by *ɲan* ‘very’ which follows the word it modifies.

Nonderived adjectives are true adjectives and consist of numerals and specifiers. Numerals are discussed in §4.2.1.4 above. Specifier is Manley’s term for nonnumeric quantifiers, such as *təəl* ‘each’ (which is *ka:p* in dialect B), and *ʔalaʔ* ‘most of the’ (which functions as a plural marker for noun phrases in subdialect B). Specifiers precede nouns in a noun phrase (1972:144-145).

4.2.3.2 Adverbs

Adverbs in Sre are an interesting category, appearing in reduplication, sentence-initial position, sentence-final position, manner, and derived from verbal elements. Adverbs do not occur in noun phrases, but may appear elsewhere. Manley (1972:216-223) categorizes them into sentence initial adverbs, preverbal adverbs, manner adverbs, nonmanner adverbs, sentence final adverbs, nominal adverbs, and nonnominal adverbs.

There are several adverbial auxiliaries that serve a modal function: *ma:* functioning as a punctual ‘immediately, right away’ (124a); and *ma:n* indicating that the result of the sentence is uncertain (124a).

- (124) a. *ʔaŋ so:r kʰaj ɣen ɲu:t kʰaj ntaw ma:*
 1 tell 3 then stand- 3 -up immediately
 ‘I told him and he stood up right away.’ (E&B140/2BA)
- b. *baŋ lo:t ŋa:j ʔir rʰɔ:t bəl-he bɔ:l-glar*
 NEG.IMP go far too afraid PL.1INCL tired
 ma:n.
 uncertainty
 ‘Don’t go too far away, for fear that/lest we’ll be tired.’ (E&B127/013)

Manley (1972:214) notes that

Once the entire complex of constraints on copulas, coverbs, stative verbs, true verbs, and verb-plus-verb-complement combinations is taken into account, it is possible to conceive of such monster verbal clauses as that contained in the following sentence [(209) in original]:

- (125) *ʔaŋ ma:ŋ rəgəj təbɔ:ŋ lo:c pih gɔh pʰan*
 1 be.used.to be.able.to try.to finish wash clean clothes
nɛ tam dul djə.
 that in one hour
 ‘I am used to being able to trying to finish washing those clothes clean in one hour.’

While it is very unlikely that any native speaker of Sre would utter such a sentence in casual discourse, it is perfectly within his competence to do so, and in fact, this particular sentence was accepted without hesitation by Manley’s language consultant.

4.3 Functional categories: grammatical word classes

Functional categories provide the grammatical information required in a sentence. Generally, functional categories consist of a closed class of items, that is, there is a finite limit to the lexicon. No new lexemes or neologisms may be added to the inventory of a particular category. This section includes determiners (§4.3.1), adpositions (§4.3.2), relator nouns (§4.3.3), conjunctions (§4.3.4), interrogatives (§4.3.5), and imperatives (§4.3.6).

4.3.1 Determiners

Determiners include location and directional words (§4.3.1.1), and temporal units (§4.3.1.2).

4.3.1.1 Locational and directional words

Sre locational and directional (deictic) words are listed in Table 4.6.

4.3.1.2 Temporal units

There are two important temporal words in Sre: *dəəʔ* ‘one of a number of recurring or multiplied instances, or repeated acts’ (Table 4.7) and *tuʔ* ‘time, event’ (Table 4.8).

Baker (2003:109) notes that one can count events by involving a dummy noun (e.g., *dəəʔ* ‘occasions’ or *tuʔ* ‘times’) that provides the criterion of identity that makes enumeration possible.

There are analogous Vietnamese constructions to many of the Sre temporal constructions (Nguyễn Đăng Liêm 1971:21):

<i>mỗi X một Y</i>	Template: ‘each X one Y’
<i>mỗi ngày một nhiều</i>	‘more and more numerous each day’ (lit. ‘each day one many’)
<i>mỗi tháng một lần</i>	‘once a month’ (lit. ‘each month one time’)

Contemporary units of time are borrowed from Vietnamese (126).

(126)	<i>nəh</i>	<i>ba:r</i>	<i>jəə</i>	<i>jəət</i>	<i>pʰuk</i>
	ATELIC	two	hour	ten	minute

‘It is (already) two ten (2:10).’

Pʰuk ‘minute’ and *jəə* ‘hour’ are Vietnamese loans: from <*phút*> and <*giờ*>, respectively.

4.3.2 Adpositions

Adpositions can be considered to be analytic case markers as opposed to synthetic case markers like the suffixes found in Turkish or Latin (Blake 2001:9). Adpositions in

Sre are grouped into three categories: abstract, concrete nonspatial, and spatial case markers. There is a question whether what Manley terms (spatial) case markers actually function as prepositions (1962:69-72). This is an area for further study.

4.3.2.1 Abstract cases (grammatical cases)

The abstract (grammatical) cases include: the genitive postposition *de* (§4.3.2.1.1) and the dative and benefactive postposition *ʔin* (§4.3.2.1.2).

4.3.2.1.1 Genitive postposition *de*. The genitive postposition *de* (*je* after *ʔan*)⁵⁵ indicates possession; it occurs after kin terms and personal pronouns (127) repeating (78).

- | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|----|-------------|------------|-----------|----|----------------|-------------|-----------|----|--------------------|------------|-----------|
| (127) | a. | <i>sraʔ</i> | <i>ʔan</i> | <i>je</i> | b. | <i>sraʔ</i> | <i>kʰaj</i> | <i>de</i> | c. | <i>sraʔ</i> | <i>kən</i> | <i>de</i> |
| | | book | 1 | GEN | | book | 3 | GEN | | book | child | GEN |
| | | ‘my book’ | | | | ‘his/her book’ | | | | ‘the child’s book’ | | |

4.3.2.1.2 Dative and benefactive postposition *ʔin*. The dative postposition marks an animate direct object (128-129). The dative sense (DAT) often is ambiguous in that it includes or overlaps a benefactive (BEN) interpretation in many of these sentences (130). There is an allomorph dative preposition *te* that can also appear in the same environment, but it occurs with some sensory verb constructions often in conjunction with causative verbs (131). This is an area for further research.

- (128) *kʰaj* *ʔaj₂* *tərna:m* *rəəpu* *ʔin*
 3 give rice-wine buffalo DAT
 ‘S/he gave rice wine to the water buffalo.’

- (129) *kon* *ʔan* *sen-gar* *ʔəəseh* *caw* *pɔa:* *bo:n* *ʔin*

⁵⁵This is an instance of rule (6) (see §2.2.2).

uncle 1 take-care-of horse people chief village DAT

‘My uncle takes care of the village chief’s horse.’

The dative case marker can also indicate a benefactive (BEN) sense (153).

(130) *bi klaw ʔaŋ taŋ do nəm səʔ caw ʔur kʰaj*

ʔin

older-sibling male 1 weave one CLF basket CLF female 3

BEN

‘My (older) brother is weaving a basket for his wife.’

(131) a. *kʰaj cəm luʔ te sɔ*
3 throw rock DAT dog

‘He throws rock at the dog.’

b. *ʔaŋ tən-ŋɔ:t gəʔ te kʰaj*
1 CAUS-fear 3 DAT 3

‘I cause him to fear it.’

4.3.2.2 Concrete nonspatial case (semantic): comitative and instrumental

preposition (*bal*) *məə*

The comitative preposition (*bal*) *məə* indicates an accompaniment relationship (‘together with x’). When only the comitative marker appears in a sentence, the first element *bal* is optional (132).

(132) *ʔaŋ lɔ:t həə Da:la:c (bal)-məə gəəp ʔaŋ*
1 go to Dalat (COM)-COM friend 1

‘I go to Đà Lạt with my friend.’

(M68/19-20)

However, if both comitative and instrumental markers occur in the same sentence, then the instrumental phrase is indicated by *məə* alone and the comitative phrase is obligatorily indicated by *bal-məə* (133).

- (133) *ʔaŋ lɔːt həə Daːlaːc məə rəəndəh bal-məə gəəp*
ʔaŋ
 1 go to Dalat INSTR vehicle (COM)-COM friend
 1
 ‘I go to Đà Lạt with my friend.’ (M68/21)

4.3.2.3 Spatial cases (local)

As mentioned, there is disagreement about whether these spatial cases are indeed case markers (as per Manley) or are prepositions with a rather wide semantic scope. Spatial (local) cases include: the locative preposition *tam* (A), *taːm* (B) (§4.3.2.3.1), the goal preposition *tus* (§4.3.2.3.2), the source preposition *bəəh* (§4.3.2.3.3), and the direction preposition *te* (A), *de* (B) (§4.3.2.3.4).

4.3.2.3.1 Locative preposition *tam* (Subdialect A), *taːm* (Subdialect B). The locative preposition *tam/taːm* indicates a general location in time and/or space. There appears to be no difference in the sense of this preposition in either subdialect A or B (134).

- (134) a. *kʰaj ʔəəm tam/taːm bɔːn*
 3 be-located LOC village
 ‘He lives in the village.’
 b. *ʔaŋ rɛ tam/taːm pwan kəəsɔ/ʔəə*
 1 swim LOC four kilometer/hour

‘I swam for four kilometers/hours.’

4.3.2.3.2 Goal preposition *tus*. The goal preposition *tus* has different interpretations depending on the subdialect. In dialect A, *tus* indicates the goal or destination where someone or something is going (135). The English preposition ‘until’ best translates the sense. In subdialect B, the semantic scope of the word is extended to indicate recent arrival in addition to referring to future events in time and space. In subdialect B, *tus* often co-occurs with *bəəh* where it appears to function as a verb (136).

- (135) a. *k^haj bəəsram tus drim*
 3 study until morning
 ‘He studied until morning.’

- b. *k^haj lo:t tus Da:la:c*
 3 go until/to Dalat
 ‘He went to Đà Lạt.’

- (136) a. *mbəəh me tus*
 where-Q 2M from
 ‘Where are you (m.) from?’

- b. *ʔaj tus bəəh da:-dəəŋ*
 1 come from village-name
 ‘I come from Đà Động.’

4.3.2.3.3 Source preposition *bəəh*. The source preposition *bəəh* indicates the source or place where someone or something is from (137-138).

- (137) *k^haj lo:t bəəh Da:la:c*
 3 go from Dalat

‘He came from Đà Lạt.’

- (138) *caw ləəh mpal bəəh ta:m krjaŋ*
 people make mortars from CLF krian (ta:m = CLF for trees, plant stalks)

‘People make mortars from *krian* wood.’

4.3.2.3.4 Direction preposition *te* (Dialect A), *de* (Dialect B). The direction preposition *te/de* indicates a more specific location than *tam/ta:m*, the locative preposition. There appears to be no difference in the sense of this preposition in either subdialect A or B (139).

- (139) a. *kʰaj cəəm lu? te/de sɔ*
 3 throw rock at dog
 ‘He throws rock at the dog.’
- b. *ʔaŋ ʔəəm te/de bəər mpo:ŋ*
 1 be.located at mouth door
 ‘I am in the doorway.’

4.3.3 Relator nouns

In many languages, mostly located in Southeast Asia, there is a set of locative nouns that act as relator nouns, that is in form they are nouns but express relational concepts usually translated in English by prepositions.⁵⁶ Relator nouns are a specialized subclass of nouns that behave like adpositions in relating a predicate to a noun phrase (Blake 2001:204). Thompson (1987:200) described Vietnamese relator nouns as follows:

⁵⁶Relator nouns are also termed relative location nouns; in Mesoamerican linguistics they are called ‘relational nouns.’

Many of the members of this small class appear superficially to resemble the prepositions of languages like English or French. This has to do with the fact that they all express position (in space or time) or some vaguer dimension in relation to something else. Although many expressions containing these words are best translated by prepositional phrases in English, the understanding of their basic nominal meanings will help remove some of the puzzling aspects of their uses.

Since relator nouns generally indicate relative spatial location, analogous to English prepositions (e.g., on the table, under the house, etc.) and share some characteristics of both nouns and prepositions, there is an ongoing discussion among linguists about whether to consider these words as adpositions or complex prepositions (Blake 2001:185fn15).

Manley references Thompson's (1987 [1965]:200-1) definition of relator nouns, and notes that Sre relator nouns are more restricted syntactically than those of Vietnamese. Relator nouns in Vietnamese need not be preceded by a locative particle, may be followed by a determiner (a demonstrative), and may function as the surface subject of a sentence (Manley 1972:127-8).

In this section, I examine the pattern of relator nouns in Sre. These data are taken from my fieldwork research materials: a concordance (Olsen n.d. c) I compiled from sentences found in Evans and Bowen 1962 and Manley 1972 and my unpublished Kōho-English dictionary (Olsen n.d. b). I found that Sre relator nouns consist of a closed class with these four examples probably representing the totality of the class.

The four relator nouns are: *daŋ*, 'above, up(per)'; *dəəm*, 'under(neath), 'low(er), below'; *dəəlam*, 'in(side), interiority'; and *bəədi:h*, 'out(side), exteriority, away' (140 to (143).

- (140) a. *həə* *daŋ* *cəəna:ŋ*
to(wards) at above table

‘on top of the table’ (M127/p21)

- b. *ʔaŋ du:h plaj bəəh dʌŋ c^{hi}*
 1 drop fruit from above tree

‘I dropped the fruit from the tree.’ (E&B119/094)

- (141) a. *həə dʌəm cəəna:ŋ*
 to(wards) at below table

‘underneath the table’ (M127/p22)

- b. *se: dʌŋ nəh hən rau, məə-ja se: dʌəm ʔa:ʔ-he:t*
 tooth upper ATELIC grow already but tooth below not.yet
 ‘(His/her) upper teeth have come through already, but not the lower ones.’

(E&B144/008)

- (142) a. *tam dʌəlam bɔ:n*
 in/at interiority village

‘inside the village’ (M127/p23)

- b. *tam dʌəlam hiw gəəs dra məə ra:c*
 in/at interiority house exist pillars and beams

‘Inside (of) the house, there are pillars and beams. (E&B142/006)

- (143) a. *tam bəədi:h ləəgar jwan*
 in/at exteriority place Vietnam

‘outside Vietnam’ (M127/p24)

- b. *baŋ lɔ:t bəədi:h*
 NEG.IMP go outside

‘Don’t go outside.’ (E&B125/WS1)

The examples for the relator nouns pattern similarly: locative marker + relator noun + noun. However, relator nouns can serve other syntactic functions when used in patterns other than the ones delineated here. Something parallel also occurs in English, where prepositions, such as *inside* and *outside*, may function as nouns, adjectives, or adverbs.

4.3.4 Conjunctions

Conjunctions link equal phrases or clauses. There are three important conjunctions in Sre: additive ***məə*** ‘and’ (homophonous with the comitative/instrumental ***məə***), alternative ***hala*** ‘or’, and contrastive or contrary ***məə-ja*** ‘but’ (144-146) are illustrative sentences.

- (144) *ʔaŋ gəəs do naʔ ʔɔh-ʔur məə ba:r naʔ lɔʔ-kən-kon*
 1 have one CLF yg.sister and two CLF older.F.cousin
 ‘I have one younger sister and two older female cousins.’

- (145) *kʰaj rkeʔ hala lat*
 3 one-way-of-plowing or another-way-of-plowing
 ‘He plows one way or another.’

- (146) *di məə-ja gəə ʔa:ʔ njam bɛ cʰi dɔ*
 yes but it.(PL) NEG good like thing this
 ‘Yes, but it is/they are not as good as this one (thing).’ (E033/059)

4.3.5 Interrogatives

Interrogative pronominals are formed by prefixing a homorganic nasal {N} to a nominal base form. These are listed in Table 4.9.

4.3.6 Imperative markers

There are four imperative particles: polite inclusive (*ʔih* or *laʔ*), polite exclusive (*jaʔ*), and nonpolite exclusive (*teʔ*). See §5.2.3 for illustrative sentences involving these markers.

See §5.2.2 for illustrative sentences and a syntactic discussion of this set of interrogatives.

Table 4.1 Examples of common nouns

Sre form	English gloss
<i>caw</i>	‘man, person’
<i>luʔ</i>	‘stone, rock’
<i>kɔːj</i>	‘rice’
<i>pwac</i>	‘meat’
<i>jwas</i>	‘shoulder ax’
<i>Kəə.brɔj</i>	‘personal name (K’Broi)’
<i>Daː.laːc.</i>	‘place name (Dalat = Đà Lạt)’

Table 4.2 Personal pronouns

	Singular	Plural ⁵⁷
1st person exclusive	<i>ʔaŋ</i>	<i>bɔl hi</i> (<i>ʔaŋ</i> = rare)
inclusive		<i>bɔl hɛ</i>
2nd person masculine	<i>me</i>	<i>bɔl me</i>
feminine	<i>ʔaj₁</i>	<i>bɔl ʔaj₁</i>
affinal	<i>dî ~ ʔi</i>	<i>bɔl dî ~ ʔi</i>
3rd person [+human]	<i>k^haj</i>	<i>bɔl k^haj</i>
[-human, ±animate]	<i>gəə_{1/2}</i>	<i>bɔl gəə_{1/2}</i>

⁵⁷Manley posits *hi* and *hɛ* as dual pronouns. He notes that ‘[T]he first person is the only place the category Dual turns up, and also, the only place the inclusive/exclusive distinction is made, thus suggesting that *hi* and *hɛ* may be surviving relics from an older, richer pronominal system (1972:116).’ Although, no dual pronouns occur in other South Bahnaric languages, they are found in Katuic languages.

Table 4.3 Numerals.

<i>du:l</i>	one
<i>ba:r</i>	two
<i>pɛ</i>	three
<i>pwan</i>	four
<i>pram</i>	five
<i>praw</i>	six
<i>pɔh</i>	seven
<i>p^ha:m</i>	eight
<i>sin</i>	nine
<i>jəət</i>	ten
<i>jəət ba:r</i>	twelve
<i>ba:r jəət</i>	twenty
<i>pɛ jəət</i>	thirty
<i>pwan jəət pram</i>	forty-five
<i>r^əhjaŋ</i>	hundred
<i>r^əbo</i>	thousand
<i>pɔh r^əhjaŋ sin jəət praw</i>	seven hundred ninety-six: 796

Table 4.4 Inventory of Kōho classifiers cited in this section

Classifier	Scope: Example nouns
<i>blah</i>	layers of s.t. (clothing, paper): <i>ʔaw</i> ‘shirt, blouse’; <i>sraʔ</i> ‘a ream of paper’; <i>ʔoj</i> ‘blanket’
<i>jəʔnau</i>	abstract nouns for words, languages, songs, poetry, and legends: <i>caw</i> ‘Kōho language’
<i>kiʔ</i> ⁵⁸	measure for weight: kilogram: < <i>object to be weighed</i> >
<i>lit</i>	measure for liquids (liter): < <i>object to be measured</i> >
<i>mpol</i>	group(s) of people (clan): <i>caw</i> ‘clan (or people)’
<i>naʔ</i>	counting human beings: <i>bar naʔ caw</i> ‘two people’
<i>naʔ</i>	small, round objects (fruit, rocks, balls, grains of rice): <i>kroac</i> ⁵⁹ ‘orange (fruit)’
<i>nəəm</i>	nonhuman animate creatures and all other inanimate objects not classified by <i>naj</i> : <i>glɛ</i> ‘type of bamboo’, <i>sɔ</i> ‘dog’, <i>səəgəən</i> ‘hat’
<i>ɲcəəm</i>	a group of people: <i>caw</i> ‘a group’
<i>paŋ</i>	flat, sheet-like things (cloth, mats, paper): <i>sraʔ</i> ‘paper’, <i>mpan</i> ‘board, plank’
<i>sɛŋ</i>	objects occurring in a sequence or linear order: <i>caw</i> ‘people lined up, <i>hiw</i> ‘row of houses’
<i>səəʔ</i>	measure of volume based on capacity (~20 kg. paddy): < <i>quantity to be measured</i> >

Data source: Evans and Bowen 1962:14a, 90-92; Manley 1972:119-123;
Olsen field notes.

⁵⁸This is the current term (< French); an older term is *kəər*.

⁵⁹*Kroac* can also be used with *plaj*, the classifier for fruit, etc.

Table 4.5 Coverbs and their glosses

Coverb [modality]	Gloss
<i>di</i> [permission]	‘be permitted to; be (all) right, correct’
<i>pal</i> [necessity]	‘have to; must; be worthy of’
<i>rəgəəj</i> [ability]	‘be able to; can’
<i>lo:c</i> [completion]	‘finish’
<i>ma:ŋ</i> [accustomed]	‘be accustomed to; be used to’
<i>təəlɔ:ŋ</i> [attempt]	‘try to’

Table 4.6 Deictics of location and direction

<i>dɔ</i>	‘this’ (closer to speaker; the first of a pair of objects being compared or contrasted) (PROXIMATE)
<i>nɛ</i>	‘that’ (object not proximate but equidistant from speaker and addressee) (DISTAL)
<i>dɛn ~ gɛn</i>	‘that’ (closer to addressee, not speaker)
<i>daʔ</i>	‘that’ (the second of a pair of objects being compared or contrasted)
<i>həəʔ</i>	‘that’ (not visible, spatially or temporally; anaphoric, indicates old information)

Data source: Manley 1962:150-151.

Table 4.7 Temporal units with *dəəʔ* ‘one of a number of recurring or multiplied instances, or repeated acts; a recurrent event’

Temporal unit	Gloss
<i>dəəʔ</i>	‘time(s)’
<i>dəəʔ dəəʔ</i>	‘sometimes’ (reduplication)
<i>dəəʔ ndəəʔ</i>	‘every once in a while’
<i>dodəəʔ</i>	‘once; only time’ (<i>dul + dəəʔ</i>)
<i>ka:p dəəʔ</i>	‘each, every time’
<i>ʔwaʔ dəəʔ</i>	‘often’
<i>ka:p pram nam do dəəʔ</i>	‘once every five years’
<i>do kəənhaʔ do dəəʔ</i>	‘once a month (lit. one month one time)’
<i>pram dəəʔ pwan gəəlik bar jəət</i>	$5 \times 4 = 20$ (used in arithmetic)

Table 4.8 Temporal units with *tuʔ* ‘time; occasion’

Temporal unit	Gloss
<i>tuʔ dɔ</i>	‘right now’
<i>tuʔ ləəj</i>	‘when (anytime)’
<i>tus de tuʔ</i>	‘until’
<i>bəəh de tuʔ</i>	‘since’
<i>di tuʔ</i>	‘it’s time’
<i>ta:m tuʔ</i>	‘when’
<i>la:j məə tuʔ (həəʔ)</i>	‘before that, ...’
<i>pa tuʔ</i>	‘just; newly’

Table 4.9 Formation of interrogative pronominals

Base form	Interrogative prefix + base form
<i>bɛ</i> ‘that; as, like’	<i>mbɛ</i> ‘how’
<i>bəəh</i> ‘from’ (origin, source)	<i>mbəəh</i> ‘(from) where; what source’
* <i>dɑ</i> : [no base form]	<i>ndɑ</i> : ‘how much/many’ (requires a classifier)
<i>teŋ</i> ‘place, direction’	<i>n-te.ŋ</i> (<i>dah</i>) ‘where’
<i>caw</i> ‘person’	<i>ɲcaw</i> ‘who, which’
<i>c^{hi}</i> ‘(any-, some-) thing’	<i>ɲc^{hi}</i> ‘what’
	<i>ɲc^{hi} bəəh taj</i> ‘why’
(An answer to <i>ɲc^{hi} bəəh taj</i> ‘why’ is <i>taj bəəh</i> ‘because.’)	

CHAPTER 5

SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES: GRAMMATICAL COMPONENTS

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the principal syntactic structures or grammatical components of Sre. Sre word order is presented in (§5.1), simple sentences in (§5.2), and complex sentences in (§5.3). Nominal constituents are discussed in (§5.4), along with negation in (§5.5) and phrase or sentence final markers in (§5.6).

5.2 Sre word order⁶⁰

Hawkins (1983:284, 338) classifies Sre, the most documented dialect of Koho, as a subject + verb + object (SVO) word order language with prepositions and numeral-noun, noun-adjective (alternatively adjective-noun is also a nonbasic order), noun-genitive, and noun-relative clause characteristics. The word order is fairly rigid, but there can be some phrase or clause movement to indicate certain syntactic functions (see §1.3.2 above).

5.2.1 Order of subject, object and verb: SVO

(147)	<i>k^haj</i>	<i>ləðh</i>	<i>hiw</i>	<i>pa</i>
	S	V	O	ADJ

⁶⁰These word order features are mirrored in the World Atlas of Language Structures (WALS) online database (Haspelmath, et al. 2005).

3 built house new

‘S/he built a new house.’

5.2.2 Order of preposition and noun phrase: prepositions

(148) *kʰaj lɔ:t tɔm Da:la:c*

PREP NP

3 go to Dalat.

‘He/she went to Đà Lạt.’

5.2.3 Order of possessive (genitive) and noun: noun-possessive (genitive)

(149) *sraʔ kʰaj*

book 3

‘his/her book’

5.2.4 Order of adjective and noun: noun-adjective

(150) *kʰaj ləəh hiw pa*

3 built house new

‘S/he built a new house.’

5.2.5 Order of demonstrative and noun: noun-demonstrative

(151) *sɔ nɛ*

dog that.DIS

‘that dog (over there)’

5.2.6 Order of numeral and noun: numeral-noun (cardinals) and noun-numeral (ordinals)

(152) a. *ba:r kəənhaj* b. *kəənhaj ba:r*

two month

month

two

‘two months’

‘second month, February’

5.2.7 Order of degree word and adjective: adjective-degree word

- (153) *dan d̥aəs m^ham ʔet taj*
 please speak fast little more
 ‘Please speak a little faster.’

5.3 Simple sentences

There are three main types of simple sentences: declarative (§5.3.1), interrogative (§5.3.2), and imperative (§5.3.3). Simple sentences generally consist of only one clause.

5.3.1 Declarative sentences

Declarative sentences have the illocutionary force of assertion as part of their meaning (154-157).

- (154) *ʔaŋ ka:n saw pjaŋ*
 I want eat cooked.rice
 ‘I want to eat rice.’

- (155) *bol-k^haj bləaj ʔjar*
 PL-3 buy chicken
 ‘They are buying chickens.’

- (156) *jəənaw d̥ɔ d̥aəs kalke*
 word this speak difficult
 ‘This word is difficult to pronounce.’

- (157) *ʔaj₃ pe:s so:t d̥ɔ naŋ c^hil bum*

take knife sharp this PURP peel potato

‘Take this sharp knife to peel the potatoes.’

5.3.2 Interrogative sentences

Interrogative sentences have the illocutionary force of interrogation or questioning as part of their meaning. There are two types of interrogative sentences: alternative questions (§5.3.2.1), and specification questions. (§5.3.2.2).

5.3.2.1 Alternative questions

Alternative questions, also known as yes/no questions or polar interrogatives, ask if the proposition presented in the utterance is true. The position of alternative question markers is phrase final. *ʔaə* reflects subdialect A (158) and *səəl* reflects subdialect B (159-160).

(158) *kʰaj lɔ:t həə səəgɔ:ŋ ʔaə*

3 go to Saigon Q

‘Did s/he go to Saigon?’

(159) *me ɟəəglɔh səəl*

2M hungry Q

‘Are you hungry?’

(160) *me lɔ:t dra:ʔ səəl*

2M go market Q

‘Are you going to market?’

To answer ‘yes,’ the verb of the question is repeated. To answer ‘no,’ the verb is preceded by the negative. One could answer ‘yes’ (*di* or *ʔəəj*), but just repeating the verb

with or without the negative is the forms generally used in informal speech. An analog in English would be the song titled ‘Yes, we have no bananas.’⁶¹

5.3.2.2 Specification questions

Specification questions, also known as content questions, are used when the hearer desires more information or wants further specification of some constituent. In subdialect B, *lu:p* is used when one is expecting more information on an abstract level (161, 162); *dan* is used when the discussion involves a request for something concrete (163, 164) (Evans and Bowen 1962:69-70).

(161) *ʔaŋ ka:n lu:p do sɛŋ*
 1 want ask one sentence

‘I would like to ask a question.’

(162) *ʔaŋ ka:n lu:p dilah me rəgəgəj ləəh-brwa? mʰɔ dɔ*
 1 want ask if 2M be.able to-work evening this

‘I want to ask (you) if you can work tonight.’

(163) *ʔaŋ ka:n dan bɔh*
 1 want ask salt

‘I want to ask for some salt.’

(164) *ʔaŋ ka:n dan me ləəh-brwa? mʰɔ dɔ*
 1 want ask 2M to-work evening this

‘I want to ask you to work tonight.’

⁶¹Written by Frank Silver and Irving Cohn, 1922. ©Shapiro Bernstein & Co.

When **dan** (and **lu:p**) occur after a pronoun and an optional second verb (e.g., **ka:p**), they function as verbs; when **dan** appears initially in a phrase or sentence and precedes a pronoun or a verb, it is best translated as ‘please’ (165).

- (165) **dan** *d̥aəs* *d̥aəŋ* *taj*
 ask speak big again
 ‘Please speak louder.’

Another set of content questions requires the interrogatives listed in Table 5.1. Content questions with these interrogatives generally require the sentence-final word **tajh**. In ordinary conversation where there is an interrogative element in the sentence, **tajh** is optional (166). For focus, an interrogative may be fronted to sentence-initial position (166b). If a formal answer is strongly desired, it is obligatory (167).

- (166) a. *me* *lɔ:t* *n̥te:ŋ* (*tajh*)
 2M go where (Q)
 ‘Where are you (masc.) going?’
 b. ***n̥te:ŋ*** *me* *lɔ:t* (*tajh*)
 where 2M go (Q)
 ‘Where are you (masc.) going?’
- (167) *ɲcʰi* *me* *d̥aəs* ***tajh***.
 what 2M say Q
 ‘What did you (masc.) say?’

5.3.3 Imperative sentences

Imperative sentences have the illocutionary force of ordering or commanding. They have first or second person subjects that can be deleted and active verbs that describe actions over which a person has some voluntary control. There are three types of imperative sentences: polite inclusive (*ʔih* or *laʔ*), polite exclusive (*jəə*), and nonpolite exclusive (*tɛʔ*). *ʔih* and *jəə* occur sentence final, while *laʔ* and *tɛʔ* occur after the relevant verb. These are illustrated below in (168-171).

5.3.3.1 Polite inclusive marker *ʔih*

Inclusive involves the addressee as well as the speaker. A polite utterance includes the plural inclusive pronoun *bɔl hɛ*, while dropping the pronoun marks a slightly more informal request.

- (168) (*bɔl hɛ*) *lɔ:t* *ʝo* *tərna:m* *ʔih*
 PL.1INCL go drink rice.wine IMP
 ‘(Let’s) go drink rice wine.’

5.3.3.2 Nonpolite inclusive marker *laʔ*

- (169) *lɔ:t* *laʔ*, *ʝaŋ* *ʝa:ʔ* *lɔ:t*
 go IMP 1 NEG go
 ‘(You) go; I’m not going!’ (a strong form of *ʔih*; almost scolding)

5.3.3.3 Polite exclusive marker *jəə*

- (170) *pəəs* *hiw* *gɔh* *jəə*
 sweep house clean IMP
 ‘(You) sweep the floor clean.’

5.3.3.4 Nonpolite exclusive marker *tɛʔ*

- (171) *lɔ:t tɛʔ bal-məə bɔl.hi*
 go IMP with PL.1EXCL
 ‘(You) come along with us.’

5.3.3.5 Negative imperative marker *bap*

The negative imperative *bap* ‘don’t’ precedes the main verb (*nhəəl* in 172; *jim* in 173; *gəəm* in 174), negating it as well as making it imperative.

- (172) *bap nhəəl tam bre*
 NEG.IMP play in forest
 ‘Don’t play in the forest!’

- (173) *bap jim tai, jɔʔ tɛʔ*
 NEG.IMP cry any.more laugh IMP
 ‘Don’t cry any more, laugh!’

- (174) *ʔalaʔ ʔoj-ʔaw gəəs da:-jɔm bap gəəm rʰɔ:t gəəlɪk*
 PL shirt-blouse have color NEG.IMP boil afraid to.come.out
da:-jɔm
 color
 ‘Don’t boil the colored things lest the color come out.’

5.4 Complex sentences

Complex sentences can involve various dependent clauses, generally employing coordinating or subordinating conjunctions. Often these conjunctions overlap syntactically, but semantically the sense of the sentence is made clear by the context.

This section discusses coordinate sentences (§5.4.1), conditional sentences (§5.4.2), causal sentences (§5.4.3), contrastive sentences (§5.4.4), concessive sentences (§5.4.5), and purposive sentences (§5.4.6).

Some of the more frequent connecting or coordinating words include: *ʔaj*, *ʔaj*... *ʒen* ‘as for,’ *bu(lah)* ‘if,’ *digəʔlan* ‘maybe,’ *di(lah)* ‘if,’ *ʒen* ‘as a result, consequence,’ *hala* ‘or,’ *məʔ* ‘and; often also used with a comitative sense,’ *naŋ/to* ‘in order to; so that,’ and *məʔ-ja* ‘but.’

5.4.1 Coordinate sentences

Coordination involves the conjoining of constituents if they are of the same type and share the same syntactic function. These coordinate structures are constituents linked by a conjunction like *məʔ* ‘and’ (175) or *hala* ‘or’ (176). Note that identical constituents may undergo conjunction reduction (i.e., all but the initial co-indexed conjuncts are deleted).

- (175) *kʰaj* *ŋgum* *kɔj* *məʔ* *ŋkʰjaŋ* *pʰe*
 3 winnow paddy and separate uncooked.rice
 ‘She winnows the paddy and [she] separates the rice.’

- (176) *kʰaj* *ʔa:ʔ* *git* *kʰaj* *lɔ:t* *hala* *ʔəəm*
 3 NEG know 3 go or stay
 ‘S/he doesn’t know [if] s/he will go or [s/he will] stay.’

5.4.2 Conditional sentences

Conditional sentences are introduced by *dilah* ‘if,’ with the secondary clause optionally beginning with *ʒen* ‘as a result or consequence’ (177). The same syntax is employed in resultative sentences, where *ʒen* is generally obligatory and the resultant

clause content signals the type of clause (178).

- (177) *dilah* *ʔaŋ* *bɛp* *gəə* (*gɛn*) *ʔaŋ* *rəəgəəj* *hu:c*
 if 1 sip it (then) 1 able drink
 ‘If I sip it, (then) I can drink it.’

- (178) *dilah* *gəəs* *jəət* *naʔ* *caw* *ta:m* *rəəndəh*, *gɛn* *hat*
 if exist ten CLF people in vehicle then be.crowded
ŋan
 very
 ‘If there are ten people in the car, then it is very crowded.’

5.4.3 Causal sentences

Causal sentences indicate a cause or consequence of an action. The conjunction *gɛn* introduces the causal clause (179).

- (179) *kʰaj* *ʔat* *do* *paŋ* *sraʔ*, *gɛn* *sraʔ* *ruŋ* *de* *ʔu:*
 3 hold one CLF paper (but) paper fall to ground
 ‘S/he held a sheet of paper, (and) it fell to the ground.’

5.4.4 Contrastive sentences

Contrastive sentences often present contradictory information in the subordinate clause. Often this clause will have a negative element, usually *ʔa:ʔ* ‘not’ (180-181).

- (180) *ʔaŋ* *tonlah* *kʰaj* *ʔəəm* *ta:m* *hiw*, *məə-ja* *kʰaj* *ʔa:ʔ* *gəəs*
 1 suppose 3 live at house but 3 NEG have
 ‘I supposed he was (at) home, but he wasn’t (there).’

- (181) *ʔo:ŋ* *kra* *nɛ* *səənɛŋ* *tor* *məə-ja* *ʔa:ʔ-he:t*
 man old that hard.of.hearing ear but not-yet
tiʔ-tor

be-deaf

‘That old man is hard of hearing, but not yet deaf.’

5.4.5 Concessive sentences

Concessive sentences indicate something conceded but not detracting from what is said. They are introduced by **bulah**, meaning ‘even though, although’; the following main clause is usually introduced by **məə-ja** ‘but’ (182).

- (182) *bulah* *ʔaŋ* *ləəbəən*, *məə-ja* *ʔaŋ* *pəəndəəl*
 even.though 1 weak but 1 force
ləəh-brwa?
 to-work
 ‘Even though, I’m weak, [but] I force myself to work.’

5.4.6 Purposive sentences

Purposive sentences have either **naŋ** (183) or **to** (184) both meaning ‘in order to’ or ‘so’ to indicate the purpose or reason implied in the introductory clause.

- (183) *ʔaŋ*₃ *gaj* *kəərnal* **naŋ** *kal* *mpon*
 take CLF rod PURP bolt door
 ‘Take the rod (in order) to bolt the door.’

- (184) *ʔaŋ* *sa* **to** *ha:m*
 1 eat PURP satiate
 ‘I eat so that I will be satiated.’

Naŋ and **to** can also function as verbs in both dialects A and B.

5.5 Nominal constituents

The constituents of a noun phrase include the elements listed in (185).

(185) (quantifier) noun (adjective) (noun phrase) (clause) (determiner)

Nouns may be specific or generic. Specific nouns are explicit, definite—that is, denoting a special or particular kind of object or element. Generic nouns are applicable or referring to all the members of a genus or a class. Nouns may be pluralized by the quantifier *ʔalaʔ* preceding the noun or noun phrase and its classifier.

Manley (1972:156-158) cites examples of noun phrase possibilities. Some of these are illustrated in (186-195).

Noun:

(186) *sɔ*

dog

‘dog’

Noun + determiner:

(187) *sɔ* *nɛ*

dog that.DIS

‘that dog’

Quantifier + noun + determiner:

(188) *jəəh* *ʔalaʔ* *caw* *dɔ*

all PL people this.PROX

‘all these people’

Noun + adjective:

(189) *caw* *ʔu:r* *ha:ŋ*

people woman to.be.beautiful

‘the beautiful woman/the woman is beautiful’

Quantifier + noun + adjective + determiner:

(190) *pwan naʔ caw ʔu:r ha:ŋ nɛ*

four CLF people women to.be.beautiful that.DIS

‘those four beautiful women’

Quantifier + noun + adjective + noun phrase:

(191) *pram nəm sraʔ pa kʰaj*

five CLF books new 3

‘his/her five new books’

Quantifier + noun + adjective + determiner:

(192) *pram nəm sraʔ pa ləj*

five CLF books new any

‘any five new books’

Noun + sentence:

(193) *sraʔ kʰaj bləj ŋaj ʔɔ:r*

book 3 buy day previous

‘the book (that) s/he bought yesterday’

Quantifier + noun + sentence + determiner:

(194) *pram nəm sraʔ kʰaj bləj ŋaj ʔɔ:r nɛ*

five CLF books 3 buy day previous that.DIS

‘those five books he bought yesterday’

Quantifier + noun + adjective + sentence + determiner:

- (195) *pram nəm sraʔ jwan kʰaj bləj ηaj ʔɔ:r*
 five CLF books Vietnam 3 buy day previous
nɛ
 that.DIS

‘those five Vietnamese books (that) s/he bought yesterday’

Finally, Manley cites an example of a fully specified noun phrase (196).

Quantifier + noun + adjective + noun phrase + sentence + determiner:

- (196) *ba:r nəm sraʔ təj ʔaŋ kʰaj bləj ηaj ʔɔr*
 two CLF book French 1 3 buy day previous
dɔ
 that.PROX

‘these two French books of mine (that) s/he bought yesterday’ (M158:p45)

5.6 Negation

Negation is a process or construction that expresses the contradiction of some or all of the meaning of a sentence. The concept of negation pertains to the truth value of an utterance. The primary adverb of negation is *ʔa:ʔ* ‘not.’ On semantic grounds, this adverb of negation is a modal. It precedes the verb it is negating. Negative elements that co-occur with *ʔa:ʔ* are listed in Table 5.2.

- (197) *kʰaj ʔa:ʔ-gɔʔ ka:n luj plaj krwac*
 3 not-at- want -all CLF orange
 ‘S/he doesn’t like oranges at all! (M231/264)

Table 5.1 Content question interrogatives

Interrogative form	English gloss
<i>mbəəh</i>	‘from where, what source’
<i>mbɛ</i>	‘how’
<i>ɲcaw</i>	‘who’
<i>ɲc^{hi}</i>	‘what’
<i>ɲc^{hi} bəəh ta:j</i>	‘why’
<i>nda:</i>	‘how much/many’
<i>nɛ:ŋ (dah)</i>	‘where (place)’
<i>tus de</i>	‘when’

Table 5.2 Negative elements with *ɲa:ʔ* ‘not’

<i>ɲa:ʔ</i>	‘not (adverb of negation)’
<i>ɲa:ʔ di</i>	‘negative form of <i>lah</i> ’
<i>ɲa:ʔ he:t</i>	‘not yet’ (there is no * <i>he:t</i> form; it is a syntactically bound morpheme with <i>ɲa:ʔ</i>)
<i>ɲa:ʔ gɔʔ</i>	‘not at all’ (<i>gɔʔ</i> requires <i>ɲa:ʔ</i>)
<i>ɲa:ʔ gɔʔ [verb] luj</i>	‘not at all’ (<i>luj</i> requires <i>gɔʔ</i>) [emphatic negation]

APPENDIX A

TEXT: TRADITIONAL VILLAGE WORK

This text is taken from Evans and Bowen's *Kofo Language Course* and recounts traditional village work. The original text has been transliterated from their orthography into the IPA and is glossed (1962:134-135 [§§50-60]).

Traditional Village Work

- (1) kɑ:p drim mɛ: ʔap pəs hiw, bæʔ da:ʔ mə pjah
every morning mother 1 sweep house draws water and husks
kɔ:j
paddy
‘Every morning my mother sweeps the house, draws water, and husks the rice.’
- (2) k^haj duŋ ŋgum kɔj mə ŋk^hjaŋ p^hɛ
3 also winnow paddy and separate uncooked.rice
‘She also winnows it and separates it.’
- (3) bi ʔur ʔap dɔŋ mɛ: truʔ pjaŋ mə gəm bjap
older sister 1 help mother cook rice and cook vegetables
‘My older sister helps my mother cook rice and vegetables.’
- (4) sir saw ɣɛn ʔalaʔ caw ʔur raw ʝəluʔ-məŋaŋ
already eat then PL people women wash large.bowl-small.bowl
‘After eating, the women wash the dishes.’

- (5) kɑ:p ηay ʔəh ʔur ʔan lɔ:t ɟɔj lɔŋ gen k^haj blah
 every day younger sister 1 go find firewood then 3 split
 lɔŋ

firewood

‘Every day, my younger sister goes to find firewood and then she splits it.’

- (6) kɑ:p m^hɔ mɛ: ʔan lɔ:t bəʔ da: taj
 every evening mother 1 go draw water again

‘Every evening my mother goes to draw water again.’

- (7) k^haj pi:h o:j aw gəh ŋan
 3 wash blanket shirt clean very

‘She washes the clothes very clean.’

- (8) tɑ:m kənhaj prəŋ caw ʔur tən o:j bel rændɔ: məə
 in season dry people women weave blanket mat large.bag and
 pərlɑ:

small.bag

‘In the dry season, the women weave blankets (=skirts), mats, and bags.’

- (9) tɑ:m tro: maŋ bəl.k^haj ʔaj₃ dɛ:s ro:j ɣəəs bra:j
 in sky night 3PL take cotton spin have thread

‘At night, they take cotton and spin it into thread.’

- (10) caw ʔur ɬa: sen ga:r ʔalaʔ kən
 people woman some see guard PL child

‘Some women take care of the children.’

APPENDIX B

SWADESH 285-ITEM WORD LIST FOR SOUTHEAST ASIA:

KŌHO-SRE DIALECT

The short lexicon is the Swadesh 285-item list, adapted for Southeast Asia, reflecting the Kōho-Sre dialect.

Swadesh #	English gloss	Kōho-Sre word
1	sky	tro:ʔ
2	cloud	m ^h wal
3	sun	(mat) təŋaj
4	moon	kəənhaɟ
5	star	səəmaŋ
6	wind	ca:l
7	rain	miw
8	rainbow	bəərɭaŋ kaŋ
9	mist, fog	{m ^h wal dɯŋ [(da:ʔ) tuʔ]}
10	night	maŋ
11	day	ŋaj
12	year	(səə)nam
13	hail	pjar

14	snow	pjar
15	freeze ('make water stone')	(gəəlɪk da:ʔ luʔ)
16	water	da:ʔ
17	river	hjo:ŋ da:ʔ, dʌə:ŋ
18	lake	da:ʔ le:ŋ
19	sea	da:ʔ le:ŋ
20	earth, soil	ʔu:ʔ
21	stone, rock	luʔ
22	sand	bra:s
23	mud	bɔʔ
24	dust	kəəmbuh
25	gold	mah
26	silver	priaʔ
27	mountain	bəənəəm ~ mənəəm
28	tree	(təəm) c ^{hi}
29	forest	bre
30	leaf	nha
31	bark (of tree)	kəəmho:ʔ c ^{hi}
32	flower	bəəka:w
33	root	rʰjas
34	fruit	plaj
35	seed	gar
36	grass	ŋ ^h əət

37	stick	gaj
38	banana	pri:t
39	rattan	r ^ə jah
40	areca	bəəna:ŋ ~pəəna:ŋ
41	papaya	bəəlhaŋ
42	coconut	ləəʔu:
43	bird	se:m
44	wing	(pəən)d̪a:r
45	feather	səənoʔ
46	to fly	par
47	egg	tap
48	tail	tjaŋ
49	claw	ndʒas
50	horn (of buffalo)	ŋkɛ
51	animal (‘four-footed thing’)	p ^h an pwanjəəŋ
52	dog	sɔ
53	pig	sur
54	chicken	ʔjar
55	duck	ʔada ~ʔəəda
56	fish	ka
57	snake	bəəs
58	rat	d̪e

59	rabbit	dærpaj
60	monkey (generic)	do:ʔ
61	deer	ju:n
62	tiger	kliw
63	buffalo	rʰpu
64	cow	kænro:ʔ
65	elephant	rʰwas
66	(elephant) tusk	bla:
67	worm	ran
68	scorpion	djaŋ
69	spider	buŋ
70	louse	saj
71	mosquito	səəmac
72	fly n.	rʰha:j
73	nose	muh
74	eye	mat
75	ear	to:r
76	head	bo:ʔ
77	mouth	bəər
78	tooth	si:ʔ
79	tongue	(ləə)mpjat
80	hair	sɔʔ

81	neck	ηkə
82	shoulder	pəəni:
83	chest	ntəəh
84	back	ηkə:j ~ ηkɑ:j
85	heart	nus
86	abdomen	kəəndul
87	intestines	prɔ:c
88	liver	kla:m ~ klɑ:m
89	hand	ti:
90	palm	mpaŋ ti:
91	nail, claw	ndʃas
92	leg	ʒəəŋ
93	foot	mpaŋ
94	knee	gəəltəŋ
95	thigh	bəəno:
96	calf (of leg)	də ʒəəŋ
97	blood	m ^h a:m
98	bone	nti:ŋ
99	skin	gəəltaw ~ kəəltaw
100	flesh	pwaic
101	fat	dəəŋi
102	to live	kis

103	to die	c ^h əət
104	to be sick	kə:p
105	to breathe	taʔ n ^h əəm
106	to hear	kəənə
107	to see	si:n
108	to speak	dʒəs
109	to laugh	ɲəʔ
110	to weep	ɲim
111	to suck	pə
112	to spit	c ^h əh
113	to blow	k ^h ə:m
114	to bite	kap
115	to eat	sa
116	to drink (water, wine)	hu:c, ɲə
117	to be drunk	bəɲul
118	to vomit	haʔ
119	to smell	r ^h i:p
120	to think	kəəlowi
121	to know	git
122	to count	kɑ:p
123	to fear	rɲə:t
124	to want	kɑ:ɲ

125	to sleep	bic læhaʔ
126	to lie (down)	bic
127	to stand	nta:w
128	to sit	ŋguj
129	to walk	lɔ:t (jəəŋ)
130	to come	tus
131	to go	lɔ:t
132	to ascend	gəəhaw, guh
133	to descend	mu:
134	to enter	mut
135	to return	re(wəəl)
136	to turn	kwe
137	to swim	rɛ
138	to float	ndo:ŋ
139	to flow	gəəhɔ:r, ntwat
140	to push	cʰo:l
141	to pull	hwa:j
142	to throw (away)	səərbi:
143	to fall, drop	du:h
144	to give (with ʔin)	ʔaj ₂
145	to take	ʔaj ₃
146	to wash	ra:w

147	to launder	pi:h
148	to split	blah
149	to tie	kæt
150	to wipe	ju:t
151	to rub	thə
152	to hit	pɔ:ŋ
153	to cut (hair)	kəh
154	to stab	srəp
155	to dig	tɑ:ʔ
156	to scratch	kwa:c
157	to squeeze	pat
158	man	klaw
159	woman	ʔu:r
160	person	caw
161	father	bɛ:p ~ ba:p
162	mother	mɛʔ
163	child	kɔ:n
164	husband	baw klaw
165	wife	baw ʔu:r
166	older brother	bi klaw
167	older sister	bi ʔu:r
168	younger sibling (m., f.)	ʔəh (klaw, ʔu:r)

169	name	səəndān
170	I (1ps, familiar)	ʔaj̃n
171	you (2ps; m., f.)	me, ʔaj̃₁
172	he/she/it (3ps)	kʰaj̃
173	we (1incl.)	bəl hɛ
174	you (2pl.; m, f.)	bəl me, bəl ʔaj̃₁
175	they (3pl)	bəl kʰaj̃
176	paddy rice	kɔːj̃
177	pounded rice	pʰɛ
178	cooked rice	pjaŋ
179	corn	dəəŋɔːj̃
180	salt	bɔh
181	red pepper/chili	mreʔ
182	betel chew	sa nʰa
183	pestle	rʰnaj̃
184	mortar	mpal
185	to cook (rice)	truʔ pjaŋ
186	firewood	lɔːŋ
187	fire	ʔoːs
188	to light, burn	cʰu, ʔoːs sa
189	ashes	ɬuːh
190	smoke	ŋʰuʔ

191	path, road	gu:ŋ
192	house	hi:w
193	roof	r ^ə ka:ŋ
194	cord	c ^h ε
195	to sew	ji:ŋ
196	clothing	?a:w
197	loincloth	ntrɔ:ŋ
198	to work	ləəh brwa?
199	to play	kəənhəəl
200	to sing	dəəs crih
201	to dance	təmja
202	drum	səəŋgəər
203	gong	ciŋ
204	to buy	bləəj, r ^ə wat
205	crossbow (small; large)	sra:w; s ^ə na:
206	arrow	kam
207	spear	ta:?
208	to shoot (crossbow; gun)	pap; cuh
209	to hunt	mɔ:c
210	to kill	təənc ^h əət
211	to fight	təəmləəh
212	one	du:l

213	two	ba:r
214	three	pɛ
215	four	pwan
216	five	pram
217	six	praw
218	seven	pɔh
219	eight	p ^h a:m
220	nine	sin
221	ten	ɟəət
222	twenty	ba:rɟəət
223	hundred	r ^h jaŋ ~ r ^h jaŋ
224	all	ɟəəh (ʔalaʔ)
225	many	ʔwaʔ
226	some, several	ba:r pɛ
227	few	du:l ʔet
228	big	dʑə:ŋ
229	small	de:t
230	long	ɟɔ:ŋ
231	short (length)	l ^ə jah
232	tall	ɟəənhwa
233	short (height)	l ^ə jah
234	round	wil

235	smooth	riŋ
236	thick	ləəʔut
237	thin	ləəhɑ:
238	wide	ʔəəna:ŋ
239	narrow	wit
240	black	ʒu:ʔ
241	red	pəərhi:
242	white	bə:
243	green	təəlir
244	yellow	rəmit
245	dry	rap
246	wet	su:h
247	rotten	ʔo:m
248	to swell	puʔ, ʔas
249	full	bə:ŋ
250	dirty	ḡəəʔ
251	sharp	so:t
252	dull	ʔɑ: so:t
253	new	pa
254	hot	duh
255	cold, cool	mri:t, nwat
256	heavy	kəəŋjəəʔ

257	straight	sɔŋ
258	right	di
259	good	njam
260	bad	ʔjəəh
261	old-aged	kra:
262	far	ŋa:j
263	near	re:p
264	right side	ɗah ma
265	left side	ɗah kjaw
266	same	ndra:m
267	different	krəəj
268	here	həə dɔ
269	there	həə nɛ
270	this	c ^{hi} dɔ
271	that	c ^{hi} nɛ
272	when?	tu? ləəj
273	where?	nte:ŋ ɗah
274	who?	ɲcaw
275	what?	ɲc ^{hi}
276	and	məə
277	with	bal (məə)
278	at	te:ŋ, tiŋ

279	because	ta:j bəəh
280	how?	mbɛ
281	if	dilah
282	in	təm
283	not	ʔɑ:ʔ
284	(not) yet	ʔɑ:het
285	already	sir (raw)

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